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VOLUME LXX NUMBER 1952 MONDAY, MARCH 3, 1997 • ADAR I 24, 5757 • 24 SHAWAL 1417 NIS 4.50 (Eilat NIS 3.80)

The New York Times
White House entertaining
 8-page pullout

Shakespeare gets psychedelic
 Arts & Entertainment, Page 5

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Arbel: Yosef won't be quizzed

By BATSHEVA TSUR and LIAT COLLINS

There is no intention, at this stage, to question Shas spiritual leader Ovadia Yosef in connection with the Bar-On affair, State Attorney Edna Arbel said yesterday.

Arbel's statement came in response to a question from Deputy Health Minister Shlomo Benizri (Shas), who called her at the Justice Ministry.

Amid speculation that they were discussing the possibility of questioning Rabbi Yosef, Arbel and her close aides sat cloistered for close to five hours yesterday with police investigators Ya'acov Grossman and Rami Zlotner on the investigation into the Bar-On affair, now entering its fifth week.

Grossman, who was first to leave the meeting, told reporters that the police "would not bow to pressure from any party with regard to whom to question... We are not afraid of questioning anyone and we have not reacted to any of the pressures," he declared.

Meanwhile, Shas leaders were busy calling in furious responses to morning talk-shows on Israel Radio.

BAR-ON

At one point yesterday, Benizri telephoned the Justice Ministry. After speaking to Arbel, he "announced" her decision over the air.

A spokesperson then read a short statement at the Justice Ministry. "In principle," it said, "the [investigating team] does not announce in advance [whom it plans to question]."

"At this stage, there has been no decision made to question Rabbi Yosef. This does not preclude the possibility of questioning him later."

Arbel decided to respond to Benizri, the spokesperson said, because of the large number of phone calls to the radio. The mere suggestion that Yosef might be investigated in the Bar-On affair was enough to create a stir in political and religious circles yesterday. And it did not die down even after Arbel's announcement.

Interior Minister Eli Suissa (Shas) warned that such an idea was crossing red lines and could awaken dormant Sephardi-Ashkenazi tensions.

In an Israel Radio interview, he said that if the police asked for Yosef to be questioned "they would receive a negative response and there would be

Continued on Page 2

Likud rallies around PM

Netanyahu warns Arafat over state

By MICHAL YUDELMAN

"We shall get over these difficult times, I promise you," Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu declared yesterday at the Likud's central committee meeting at Tel Aviv's convention center, referring to the police investigation into the Bar-On affair.

Netanyahu was greeted enthusiastically by activists at the meeting, staged as a demonstration of support for the prime minister, in light of the pressure he is facing due to the probe.

In an address to the convention, Netanyahu warned that Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat's declaration of a Palestinian state would be grave mistake and halt the peace process. "We will know how to react and we have a very good answer," he said.

Arafat said on Saturday that he could declare a Palestinian state in reaction to the approval to build Jewish housing on Har Homa, in southeastern Jerusalem.

Earlier in the day, President Ezer Weizman cautioned Arafat against declaring a Palestinian state now.

"It will be a terrible mistake," Weizman said. "This is not the right time... It would be a shame that something which seems important to the Palestinians should disrupt the peace process."

Netanyahu also said Israel will build in Jerusalem and anywhere else it decides to, "and no one will stop us." Netanyahu emphasized that there was no deal involved in the Har Homa approval. "I have not promised Arafat anything," He said



Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu raises hands with Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi at the Likud central committee meeting in Tel Aviv last night.

bureaucratic procedures had been sped up in order to start building immediately on Har Homa.

Netanyahu embraced Justice Minister Tzahi Hanegbi, in a show of unity between them, despite the contradictory statements they gave to the police about the Bar-On affair.

Netanyahu opened his speech by thanking Hanegbi and his office Director-General Avigdor Lieberman, whom he said "helped raise the Likud from the floor to change the face of this state for the better." Lieberman and Hanegbi are considered to be central figures in the alleged affair and have been mentioned as persons who might be indicted.

In contrast to traditional custom, in which the prime minister speaks last, Netanyahu began speaking at about 8 p.m., to make the opening item on both television channels' news programs, while other speakers were scheduled to speak later.

This was apparently done to prevent speakers such as Yitzhak Shamir, MK Ze'ev Binyamin Begin and National Infrastructure Minister Ariel Sharon, who were expected to attack Netanyahu, from getting prime time television coverage.

By the time Netanyahu finished speaking, close to 9 p.m., Shamir, who

asked to speak earlier but was not allowed, had left. So had ministers Lior Livnat and Dan Meridor. The last rows were empty of activists.

In a lengthy tirade against Labor and the opposition, Netanyahu detailed the "terrible legacy" of economic and diplomatic failures he inherited from the previous government. "Put your suits back in the cupboard, you have many more years in opposition," he scoffed.

Netanyahu then launched into an attack against the media, until the audience, which was relatively subdued until this point, was whipped into a frenzy of catcalls and boos at the media.

Finally, Netanyahu said he was not surprised by criticism from the left.

After last night's meeting, Labor lashed out at Netanyahu for his attacks on the opposition.

Labor spokesman Yoram Dori said: "Netanyahu is trying in vain, by means of verbal acrobatics and media manipulations, to lead the public astray, to hide his shortcomings and distract attention from his failures in every domain. This is in addition to the stink arising from the investigation into the Bar-On affair."

Batsheva Tsur contributed to this report.

IDF pullback tied to Har Homa

By DAVID MAKOVSKY and JON RIMANUEL

Israel will not press the so-called "reciprocity" issue with the Palestinian Authority as a condition for this Friday's IDF pullback in the territories, and instead focus on Palestinian tacit acquiescence to the construction of Har Homa, officials said yesterday.

Given the scope of Arab and international condemnation, the officials made clear that Har Homa looms larger for Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu at this point in time than the other issues which were reaffirmed as an annex to the Hebron pullback deal.

Among those issues, which have loosely been called "reciprocity" issues, are: revising the Palestinian National Charter; reducing the size of the Palestinian forces; confiscation of illegal firearms from Hamas; and extradition of suspects.

Likud critics of Netanyahu, such as MK Ze'ev Binyamin Begin, charge that the issue of "reciprocity" is not just being deferred, but abandoned. Despite the Hebron redeployment, the release of Palestinian women prisoners and the ensuing pullback, Israel has not received any dividends in return, Begin said.

Meanwhile, Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat is to arrive in Washington today. His three-day visit will take him from Washington, where he will meet President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, to Texas where he will meet with former president

George Bush and his secretary of state James Baker. While he was in office, Bush kept Arafat out of the US at Israel's behest. Arafat has been invited to deliver a policy speech at the James A. Baker School of Public Policy in Houston's Rice University.

He will then fly to New York and meet with UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, said Ahmed Abdel-Rahman, secretary of the PA Cabinet. Arafat will also be meeting with World Bank officials. The highlight of his visit may be a one-hour interview tonight on CNN's Larry King Show.

Accompanying Arafat are his deputy Mahmoud Abbas, Planning Minister Nabil Shaath and Hanan Ashrawi.

Arafat may enjoy heightened sympathy in the wake of the international furor over the decision to build at Har Homa.

"The peace is in danger. There is no driver on the Israeli side. Only Arafat's driving has kept the peace process going. That's why there was no violence last week. This will give him an 'A' grade," Abdel-Rahman said.

Arafat has maintained a volatile atmosphere in the West Bank while rejecting violence. On Saturday, the Palestinian Legislative Council called for a comprehensive strike to be held today to protest the Har Homa decision.

Fatah has called upon all Palestinians to demonstrate at Har Homa following the Moslem prayers this Friday to protest the decision to build a new Jewish neighborhood there, said Marwan Barghouteh, secretary of the Fatah Higher Committee and a member of the Palestinian Legislative Council.

The Fatah Higher Committee

Continued on Page 4

Bar-On haunts Netanyahu rally

By HERB KEINON

From the hand clasp with Tzahi Hanegbi to the chant "Heida Bibi" to the paeon to Jerusalem, Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu looked and sounded like candidate Netanyahu at the Likud central committee meeting in Tel Aviv last night.

Netanyahu, in his hour-long speech, touched on everything from the economy to education to Har Homa. The only thing not mentioned was the dark cloud that forced him - eight months after his election - to once again resume the candidate posture: Roni Bar-On.

Netanyahu opened his uncharacteristically long speech eluding to the last time he was in the same Tel Aviv Exhibition Grounds hall: election night in May.

"That evening everything looked lost," he said. "I came here with our friends David Levy and Yitzhak Mordechai... We said to you 'Don't lose faith. A new day will dawn, and we will win.' And we won." His message was clear.

Other than a comment that he believed the Likud would overcome and a thank you to Hanegbi and Avigdor Lieberman for their role in the election victory, Netanyahu ignored the Bar-On affair.

But the affair was present throughout the evening. It was felt

by intermittent calls in the crowd for Ayala Hasson, who broke the story but was not there last night, to "go home," and it was present in the cheers that greeted Hanegbi when he entered the hall.

Likud activist Gil Samsonov, who spoke briefly, turned to Hanegbi and said: "Be strong and courageous." Netanyahu clapped - the affair was on everyone's minds.

It was because of the affair and the complications it has caused in Netanyahu's relations with Hanegbi that their handclasp - once an expected gesture - took on such import and merited shouts of approval from the crowd.

The night was a massive show of support for Netanyahu, who did not show the physical wear of the Bar-On affair. He still looked confident, still spoke with self-assurance. The support was spoiled only by a few settlers outside the hall, holding up signs protesting the government's policy to continue the Oslo accords and by the appearance of MK Ze'ev Binyamin Begin, who was greeted by catcalls.

Begin pulled no punches in his attack on the prime minister, saying that for a man who says he likes victory, Netanyahu has lost every round so far in the battle with Yasser Arafat.

Continued on Page 4

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and its Board of Governors

profoundly grieve on the loss of a noble woman and patron of scholarship

BELLA SEBBA

who, together with her dear husband, Sam, was a great supporter of new immigrant and doctoral students, and research in medicine and science.

We express our heartfelt condolences to

Sam and the Sebba family

and share their deep sorrow.

Sincerest condolences to our dear friend
Mr. Sam Sebba and his family

on the sad loss of

BELLA SEBBA

The Federmann Family
and the Management and Staff
of the Dan Accadia Hotel

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

mourns the passing of

BELLA SEBBA

and expresses its sympathies to
Sam Sebba and the entire family.



THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE

The Weizmann Institute of Science
deeply mourns the untimely passing of

LADY LILLY SIEFF

A devoted supporter and friend of
The Weizmann Institute of Science

and wife of its Chancellor,
Lord Sieff of Brimpton

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

mourns the passing of

Lady LILLY SIEFF

and expresses its sympathies to
Lord Sieff and the entire family.



WORLD WIZO

mourns the passing of

Lilly, the Lady Sieff of Brimpton

devoted life patron of WIZO

and extends deepest condolences to her husband,
Lord Marcus Sieff, her daughter, Danielle
and all members of British WIZO

Michal Modai
President
World WIZO

Helena Glaser,
Chairman
World WIZO Executive



TEL AVIV MUSEUM OF ART

The Board of Directors and Staff of the Museum

deeply mourn the passing of

Lilly

The Lady Sieff of Brimpton

Dedicated Chairman of the British Friends of the Art Museums of Israel
Beloved member of our Board, and great friend of our Museum

Heartfelt condolences to her husband, Lord Sieff,
and daughter, Danielle
She will be profoundly missed.

To Sam Sebba, Stanley, and all the Family

Profound condolences on the passing of

BELLA

a woman of valor.

Edna, Rachel, and Neil Cohen
Jane and Jonathan Medved



The Jerusalem Foundation

mourns the loss of

Lady Sieff of Brimpton

a much loved person and a very dear
friend of Jerusalem



The Jerusalem Foundation

mourns the loss of

BELLA SEBBA

and extends deepest condolences to
Sam and the family

Deepest sympathy and sincerest condolences, on the
passing of a true *Eishet Hayil*

BELLA SEBBA

of blessed memory

to our friend and benefactor,
Sam Sebba

Till 120 years

May she be remembered for her everlasting works.

May the Almighty comfort you among the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem.

Yeshivat Hadarom, Rehovot Moresheet Yaakov Teachers' College
Gan Yavne Youth Village

Rabbi Reuven Aberman
Chairman

Rabbi Hersh M. Gafinsky
Director General

The Executive and Worshippers of the
Jerusalem Great Synagogue

extend deepest condolences to a founder member

Sam Sebba

on the sad passing of his dear wife

BELLA

The Board of Directors and staff
of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem
mourn the passing of

BELLA SEBBA

and extend heartfelt condolences to
Sam and the entire family.

The Jerusalem College of Technology
extends its deep condolences to

Sam Sebba

on the passing of his beloved wife

BELLA

A woman of valor and kindness

May you be comforted among the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem.

Prof. Joseph Bodenheimer
President

Chaim Kubersky
Chairman of the Board

ברוך דין האמת

In deep sorrow, we announce the death of

PRIVA KOHN

widow of Rabbi S. Joshua Kohn ז"ל

The funeral will take place today, Monday, March 3, 1997, at
Eretz Hahaim Cemetery (Beit Shemesh, near Shimon
Junction), 1 1/2 hours after the arrival of TWA flight 884, which
is scheduled to land at 15:00 today.

The family (Kohn, Weinberg) will sit shiva at the King Solomon
Hotel (Jerusalem) from Tuesday until Thursday.

The Family

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY



sends its deepest sympathy to

Mrs. Polly Mizrahi-Deutsch

President of the Friends of Tel Aviv University in
Argentina, and Member of the Board of Governors

on the passing of her father

MOISES MIZRAHI

and extends condolences to the family.

BACKGROUND

'Questioning the pope'

By HERB KEINON

"Questioning Rabbi Ovadia Yosef would be equivalent to questioning the pope," a Shas activist said yesterday, reacting to news that Yosef may be questioned in the Bar-On affair. "Can you imagine what an uproar there would be if the pope were to be questioned by the police?"

The activist, who declined to be named, said what any number of Shas MKs, ministers and supporters interviewed throughout the day said: It is beneath Yosef's dignity to be questioned by the police.

This comes just a week after Sephardi Chief Rabbi Eliahu Bakshi-Doron said that, if necessary, he wants to be questioned by the police as soon as possible to end allegations that he "hurried through" conversion cases being handled by his brother, a pleader in the rabbinical courts.

The Shas activist said that it is impossible to compare the two rabbis, and that Bakshi-Doron's willingness to be questioned by police has no impact on Yosef.

"Rabbi Ovadia is the top authority. It would be a disgrace to question him," he said.

Yosef, the activist said, is also in a completely different league than Supreme Court President Aharon Barak or Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, who both

already have been questioned by the police.

Deputy Religious Affairs Minister Aryeh Gamliel, in an Israel Radio interview, described Yosef's league.



Rabbi Ovadia Yosef (Issac Haral)

"Even though Yosef is the leader of Shas," Gamliel said, "he is not a politician. He is above politics. He is a Torah sage of historic proportions, someone the likes of whom has not been seen among the Jewish people for hundreds of years. He is not just another rabbi."

Shimon Gerson, a Shas representative to the Ma'ale Adumim Municipality, said on Israel Radio that questioning Yosef would bring tragedies upon the Jewish people.

"If the police will go to Yosef's home to question him, a horrible tragedy will occur in Israel," Gerson said. "I don't want to say that because of such and such, certain tragedies occur. But see what tragedy we have just passed, because we want to fool around with the fire of Torah. Rabbi Ovadia is a pillar of fire, it is forbidden to touch him, forbidden to get close to him."

The possibility that Yosef will be questioned has, among some Shas circles, only strengthened the belief that party head Aryeh Deri is pulling Yosef into the mire, and that it is time for the rabbi to cut himself free of Deri.

"There is a lot of anger directed toward Deri," said an activist affiliated with a camp in Shas centered around Deri's rivals Rabbi Eliahu Elbaz and MK Shlomo Benizri. "People are fed up with Deri, but are afraid to say anything to Rabbi Ovadia because of their close connection. But this connection is loosening."

The activist, however, could not point to anything concrete that would indicate Yosef is losing confidence in Deri, or that the Shas voters are becoming increasingly fed up with Deri. If anything, the opposite seems true: a rally in support of Deri and Yosef is scheduled for Tuesday in Tel Aviv.

ARBEL

Continued from Page 1

Taxi driver stabbed

An Israeli Arab taxi driver was stabbed in the leg last night by two Palestinians who asked to be driven from Jerusalem to the Bani Naim junction near Hebron.

According to settlers in the area, the Palestinians, who asked to be taken to a village nearby the junction, tried to force the driver out of the cab. When the driver fought back, the Palestinians stabbed him in the leg and fled toward the autonomous area. The driver was treated at the site by the Kiryat Arba ambulance service.

Judea and Samaria police spokesman Ofer Sivan confirmed the report and said security forces were searching the area.

Margot Dudkevitch.

no investigation."

Suissa said a distinction should be made between investigating the holders of secular positions such as the prime minister or the head of the Supreme Court and someone who holds a religious position, like Yosef. He added, however, that he does not mean that the rabbi is above the law.

Suissa's statements were condemned by Kahalani, among others. Kahalani, on tour in the North, told reporters that no pressure had been put on him or the police to refrain from questioning the rabbi. He said it had not yet been decided whether or not to question Yosef "but if it is necessary, he will be questioned." Kahalani said the issue would be weighed very carefully first because of Yosef's standing.

Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai described Yosef as "a first-rate rabbinic, public and even national figure and I would not advise anyone to harm his stature."

Mordechai decried the leaks from the investigation and said they created an imprecise picture.

But Meretz leader Yossi Sarid said "Yosef is a citizen like any other citizen and if the police needs to question him, it must do so. If it gives in to pressure and does not question him, it will be failing in its duties."

No one should have the right to refuse to be questioned, said Finance Minister Dan Meridor, who has also been questioned by police. Speaking on Israel Radio, Meridor, who is a former justice minister, said to the best of his knowledge Arbel has indicated for the time being that there is no need to question Yosef.

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's private attorney, Ya'acov Weinroth, also met with Arbel yesterday afternoon. It is believed that he discussed the possibility of obviating the need for further questioning of Netanyahu.

Police investigations head Cmdr. Sando Mazar was not present at the Justice Ministry meeting. According to an unconfirmed report, he had been called to order earlier by Deputy Inspector-General Cmdr. Gaby Last, for his briefing of police reporters last week.

Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein also did not participate in the meeting. In another development, Rubinstein decided yesterday, based on Arbel's recommendation, to launch an investigation into the leak of the January 10 cabinet meeting protocol to *Globes* last week. It was in that meeting the decision was made to appoint Roni Bar-On as attorney-general.

Meanwhile, the High Court of Justice has ordered the state to respond to a petition claiming that the police leaks to the media last week were a breach of trust, after the police and state attorney agreed that no information would be given to the press about the investigation into the Bar-On affair. The petition was submitted by attorney On Neiman. The state was given one week to respond.

Man killed by train

A 46-year-old *Beit Shemesh* man died last night after being hit by a train in Herzliya. The man had been standing on the train tracks. Police are investigating the incident.



The Council for a Beautiful Israel

sends its sincerest condolences
to its *Yakir*
Sam Sebba

on the passing of his dear wife

BELLA

Aura Herzog, International President
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Grandchildren: Dorith, Yael, Or, Shai and Noa

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The British Olim Society

mourn the passing of

SARA GREBENAU ז"ל

a former colleague

and extends sincere condolences to all the family

To the Leibowitz Family

Sincere condolences
on the untimely passing of

JOSHUA LEIBOWITZ ז"ל

From his friends at
Kleinhendler & Halevy

To Dr. David Leibowitz and Family

Deepest sympathy of the death of your brother

JOSHUA

Your Colleagues, Doctors at Hadassah

הקדמת האהבה

US Jews back Har Homa plan

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

The American Jewish leadership supports Israel's right to build at Har Homa, and it is "the inherent right of Israel to do it" since the site lies within the Jerusalem municipal borders, Leon Levy, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, said yesterday. Levy was speaking at a press conference in Jerusalem marking the opening of the conference's Israel Leadership Mission.

Asked whether he expected the US administration to pressure Israel in light of the Har Homa decision, conference executive vice chairman Malcolm Hoenlein said: "The fact is that this [decision by Israel] is in keeping with US policy in the past. It is American law that united Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, it was passed by more than 90 percent of the Congress and Senate. The president allowed it to become the law of the land, it recognizes that sovereignty. He can express his concern periodically about particular decisions; not about the right or the propriety of building in Jerusalem."

"And we would hope that the administration, in keeping with past practice, would not exercise pressure on the government of Israel. It has the right to express its concerns, but we do not believe that in the past it has used its leverage to force Israel to do things that would impinge on its security—we do not believe it will do it now."

Mission co-chair Lester Pollack said a unanimous vote, despite the different political views of the conference's members, shows that "the American Jewish community believes in Israel having its eternal capital of Jerusalem, and that action by the Conference of Presidents indicates clearly the mood and the understanding of the American Jewish community."



Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations officials (from left) Lester Pollack, Leon Levy, and Malcolm Hoenlein announce their support for the Har Homa construction at a press conference in Jerusalem yesterday. (Yitzhak Elhanan/Scope 80)

Noting that conference representatives will be meeting with Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat in New York this Wednesday—at the PA's request—Hoenlein said that "the purpose of the meeting is to make very clear our concerns about compliance, about some of the actions of the Palestinian Authority, their failure to turn over some of those accused of terrorist activity, the question of the covenant, and other concerns. It's to indicate our commitment to the peace process, but our expectation that there be reciprocity, full compli-

ance and to use this to further the dialogue with Mr. Arafat and the Palestinian Authority, but to [let them] understand where the American Jewish community stands."

Leadership mission participants are to meet today with the family of Azzam Azzam, an Israeli Arab currently jailed in Egypt and facing charges of spying for Israel. They plan to raise Azzam's situation with the US administration and Congress.

"Hopefully when President Mubarak visits the United States soon, we will have an opportunity to

raise this with him. The fact that charges have not been brought, that [Azzam] continues to be imprisoned on what appears to be charges that are not well-based, compounds the need for us to speak up on his behalf, and to let them know that this is an issue of concern to the American Jewish community and hopefully to the American government," Hoenlein said.

This year's Leadership Mission, the largest of its kind with some 100 participants, began with a visit to the northern border yesterday, where participants were briefed on the secu-

city situation there by senior IDF officials and community leaders.

"We are deeply concerned about the security and safety of Israel's northern border. The future of the peace process is related to Syria's and Lebanon's ability to control the terrorist activities of Hizbullah," Levy said.

The mission also will include a visit to Har Homa on Wednesday, a trip to Hebron and meetings with the prime minister and other government officials, as well as leading members of the opposition. Following their meetings here, the participants will travel to Uzbekistan.

New adoption law nears implementation

By ESTHER HECHT

Amid reports of illegal trafficking in babies and Romania's abrupt halt to foreign adoptions, a new law regulating international adoptions came into effect here yesterday.

The catch is that the Justice Ministry and Social Affairs Ministry, which were to have formulated regulations so the law could be implemented, have not completed their work.

Only 70 to 80 Israeli babies are available for adoption each year and the wait for a baby is more than six years. Often, by the time a couple's turn comes up, they are too old to meet the requirements of the Social Affairs Ministry's Adoption Service, until now the only Israeli agency empowered to handle adoptions. For these and other reasons, thousands of Israelis have sought babies abroad, sometimes paying as much as \$30,000.

The new law, passed last May during the last session of the 13th Knesset, empowers professional nonprofit agencies to handle inter-

national adoptions and allows them to charge only reasonable fees. In this, the law follows the American model, according to which only nongovernment agencies handle adoptions, said Prof. Eliezer Jaffe of the Hebrew University's Baerwald School of Social Work, an expert on international adoptions and a prime mover of the new law.

"It's a disgrace the regulations are not ready on the date designated by the Knesset, 10 months after the law was passed," Jaffe said. "It shows contempt for the Knesset and for the families who have been waiting for this. Until the professional agencies are licensed—and they can't be licensed without the regulations—people who want to adopt are on their own."

The regulations were to have been completed by September 1996, but the ministries sought and received a six-month extension. Yesterday, the Justice Ministry blamed the delay on the Social Affairs Ministry, while that ministry insisted, "We're moving along with the utmost speed."

Long school day begins on experimental basis

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

The long school day, long promised to parents of children who need extra help with their studies, finally got under way yesterday at 100 schools throughout the country.

The program was launched after being approved by Education Minister Zevulun Hammer, who advised the schools involved to use the extra hours of instruction they were granted to help pupils in both individual and group formats.

The new program, which will run through the end of the current school year, is regarded as experimental by the ministry. Ministry Director-General Ben-Zion Dell said the NIS 10-million program would be instituted in elementary and intermediate schools in some 20

locations, in the Jewish, Arab and Druse sectors.

The schools were chosen based on pupils' needs and their ability to implement the long school day immediately, through the hiring of quality teaching personnel. They were also required to present plans for the program with the ministry. The school principals and those helping to run the programs will identify and recommend those pupils who need assistance, the ministry said. The ministry will monitor the programs and provide feedback.

Plans are to launch the long school day gradually on a nationwide basis beginning September 1, after the experimental period's findings are evaluated. "We hope to have the project up and running in every town and in every school where there are students who deserve such assistance," Hammer said.

Gravestone smashed in Hebron

By MARGOT DUDKEVITCH

The headstone and marker of the gravesite of Mennucha Rachel Schneerson Slonim, granddaughter of the founder of the Habad movement, were found smashed yesterday in the Ashkenazi plot of the ancient Hebron cemetery.

David Wilder, spokesman for the Hebron Jewish Community, said an emergency meeting was planned to discuss posting guards from the community at the entrance to the cemetery.

"This is a clear sign that the Arabs are not interested in peace," Wilder said, adding that demands

for the IDF to post soldiers at the entrance to the cemetery had been ignored.

The cemetery, he said, covers a large plot of land. The Ashkenazi section had 400 graves at one time, according to a map based on aerial photos dating from before War War II.

NEWS

in brief

Visa rewards blood donors

Your blood is worth Visa credit card bonus points. Starting this month, blood donors at Magen David Adom branches will receive 100 points per pint; accumulated points are redeemable for prizes. All those who give blood also receive blood insurance for a year for themselves and their immediate family. More information is available from the toll-free number 177-022-5911. *Judy Siegel*

Panel to monitor hyperactive children

Health Minister Yehoshua Matza has appointed a professional committee to examine the diagnosis and treatment of children with attention-deficit disorder and attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder. Controversy was raised recently over the alleged overuse of drugs to control these disorders and their side effects. The committee is headed by Prof. Asher Or-Noy, a senior expert in teratology and child development at the Hebrew University-Hadassah School of Medicine. At the first meeting last week, it was decided that the use of the drug Ritalin for hyperactive children should be determined by the doctor only and requires continuous follow-up. *Judy Siegel*

Bibi, Gamiel refuse to recognize Reform Jews

"The Reform [Jews] are not even a minority. They are a few people who should not be considered a minority," both deputy religious affairs ministers, Yigal Bibi (National Religious Party) and Arye Gamiel (Shas), responded to a parliamentary question from MK Avi Yehezkel (Labor) regarding attacks on the Reform Movement in the haredi press.

Asked by Yehezkel how it would be "best to solve the conflict between the Orthodox and the Reform streams while preserving the equal rights of both," they replied: "There is no reason to relate to a few people who have media support." They also recommended individual soul-searching and stated: "We don't have the right to interfere in the freedom of expression." *Liat Collins*

Tax authorities question News DataCom head

Abe Peled, director-general of media magnate Rupert Murdoch's Jerusalem-based News DataCom Research, was questioned by Income Tax Authority inspectors yesterday after returning from abroad. The authority is investigating an alleged \$150 million tax evasion scheme by the company, which manufactures and exports smart cards for pay TV systems. *Itim*

Alleged killer extradited to Israel



Amiram Hochberg

Dr. Amiram Hochberg, a Ness Ziona scientist wanted by police for allegedly murdering his common-law wife Shlomit Blechman and her mother Ida, was extradited to Israel from Switzerland yesterday.

Rehovot police said Hochberg was held in custody until a remand hearing in the next few days. The body of Ida Blechman, 72, was found in her Rehovot home on May 21 last year after Shlomit, 49, had been reported missing from her job at the Weizmann Institute. Ida had been shot dead with a bullet that matched a gun licensed to Hochberg. A few days later, Shlomit Blechman's car was located near an orchard in Rehovot containing her handbag and bloodstains. Police suspected

she too was dead, but her body was not recovered. They discovered Hochberg had rented a van, crossed the border to the Egyptian resort of Taba and withdrawn his savings of NIS 120,000. They later traced him and his 12-year-old son, who had been disguised as a girl, to an apartment in Basel. The two had traveled to Switzerland on false passports. Hochberg was arrested by Swiss police in November and Itai was flown back to Israel to stay with his uncle. Itai had been the subject of a custody case after his unmarried parents separated. Responding to a request from the Israeli government, the Swiss Supreme Court ruled Thursday that Hochberg could be extradited to Israel. *(Itim)*

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IDF: Hizbullah missile did not penetrate tank

By DAVID RUDGE

The IDF's inquiry into the clash on Friday in which an IDF soldier was killed and an officer badly wounded when their Merkava tank was hit has revealed that the missile did not pierce the tank's protective armor.

The commander of the region in which the clash occurred, Col. Coby, said the anti-tank missile fired by Hizbullah gunmen struck the cover of an equipment compartment on the outside of the turret, but did not penetrate. The tank commander, Second Lieutenant Mordechai Etzion, who was wounded, and the radio operator Sgt. Lior Shabtai, who was killed by the blast, had been partly outside the tank when the missile struck.

Shabtai, 19, of Rishon LeZion, was buried yesterday in the cemetery of his home town. Hundreds of people, including Defence Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, senior IDF officers, comrades-in-arms, friends and members of his family, attended the funeral.

The young tankman had escaped death when his home leave was extended by one day and he did not board, as planned, one of the transport helicopters which collided over Moshav She'ar Yashuv on February 4, killing 73 soldiers and airmen.

Etzion, of Jerusalem, was seriously wounded in the missile blast, but by yesterday had fully regained consciousness and was able to speak briefly to President Ezer Weizman who visited him at Haifa's Rambam hospital.

The hospital's deputy director, Dr. Zvi Ben-Ishai, said that the wounded officer had undergone surgery lasting nearly eight hours after he was admitted on Friday for multiple injuries, caused by

shrapnel, to various parts of his body. "After 24 hours in the intensive care unit, he has now been transferred to a surgical ward and we are hopeful that he will make a full recovery," said Ben-Ishai.

Etzion is likely to be recommended for a citation for his role in the gunbattles with Hizbullah squads around the IDF's Dabsha position, in the eastern sector of the security zone, which began on Thursday night and ended when the tank was hit in the early hours of Friday morning. The tank crew, led by Etzion, was responsible for thwarting two attempts by Hizbullah squads from reaching the position and for killing several of the attackers.

Col. Coby, who spoke to reporters at an IDF position on the border yesterday, said the quick response of the armored corps and infantry manning the position took the attackers by surprise - a few hundred metres from the post itself. He revealed that the missile which struck the tank was of the Faggot type, an improved version of the Sagger anti-tank missile, but with the same penetrative power.

IAF warplanes struck at Hizbullah targets in the Jabal Shaffi region, north of the security zone, yesterday in the wake of the weekend fighting. The IDF spokesman said the pilots reported accurate hits and all the planes returned safely to their bases. There were no immediate reports of any casualties as a result of the air strike.

The Grapes of Wrath monitoring group is to meet at UNIFIL's headquarters in Nakoura today to discuss Israel's complaint about the firing from the villages, in breach of the understandings that ended the cross-border fighting last April.

Riots set Albania ablaze

By COSTAS PARIS

SARANDE, Albania (Reuters) - Rioters torched buildings, seized weapons and looted shops and banks in the Adriatic town of Sarande yesterday despite the right-wing Albanian government's resignation.

Residents cruised the streets in cars, shooting into the air with looted Kalashnikov automatic rifles.

Thick, black smoke billowed from a police headquarters, library and bank in the southern town, a short ferry ride from the Greek holiday island of Corfu.

"The army barracks have been abandoned. Every family in Sarande has a Kalashnikov. I fear a civil clash. We have no orders what to do," an army lieutenant, who gave his first name as Adrian, said.

Residents said protesters had seized police weapons and about 100 convicts had broken out of jail. Youths could be seen breaking into banks and shops and six police vehicles burned in the main square.

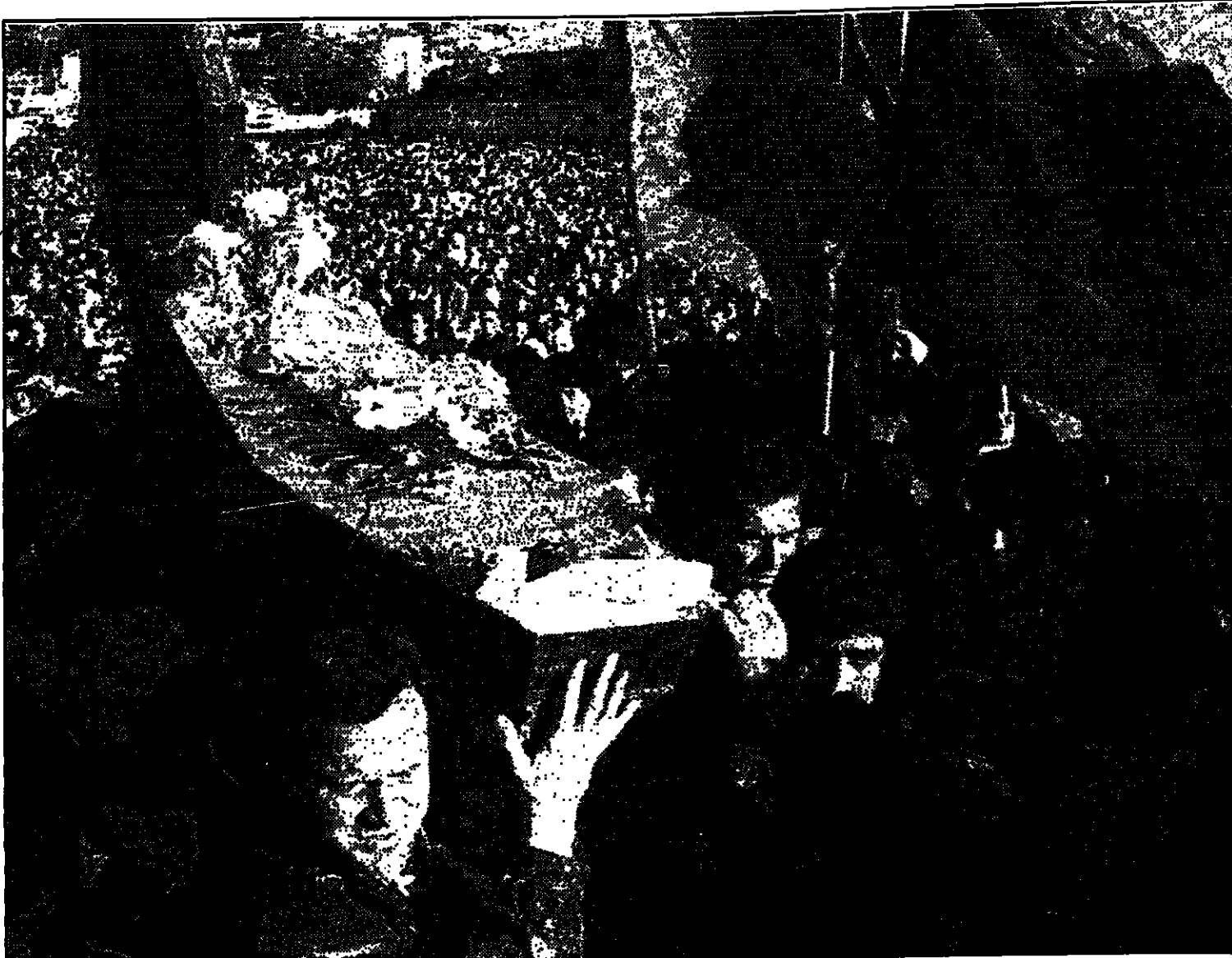
Townfolk gathered papers and documents lying scattered on the road after the sacking of the police headquarters.

"There are no injured because there were no clashes. The police have fled," an official at Sarande's hospital said.

The violence added to spiralling anarchy in the south of impoverished Albania, where tens of thousands of people have lost life savings in bankrupt pyramid investment schemes.

President Sali Berisha, blamed by many savers for their penury and grappling with the worst crisis of his rule, responded to pressure for action Saturday by removing his deeply unpopular Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi.

"It all started yesterday after Berisha said the government was to resign," one Sarande resident called Markos said.



Albanians gather at the funeral this weekend of one of the people killed by police in riots in the southern town of Vlore. (Reuters)

"The demonstrators first stormed the police headquarters and took weapons and started shooting in the air...then they went on to break into shops and state banks," he said.

Opposition leaders in Tirana and residents in the tinderbox town of Vlore dismissed Meksi's removal

as a cosmetic move that would not end the chaos in Albania, Europe's poorest state.

Protest organizers in Vlore, scene of the worst bloodshed in two months of mushrooming disorder, demanded the dissolution of parliament and called on Berisha not to stand for re-election in a

vote scheduled in the chamber today.

Berisha's official villa in Vlore was among buildings pillaged by residents, many of them armed after raids on police weapons stores. Witnesses said looters were carting off doors and windows and flowers uprooted from the villa's

garden. Up to nine people were reported killed in Vlore Friday night in a gunbattle between residents and Albania's Shik secret police.

The speaker at a daily rally in the town said protesters were holding an unspecified number of Shik agents hostage.

BAR-ON

Continued from Page 1

Most of those in the very pro-Netanyahu crowd said they were not bothered by the Bar-On affair. "What is the crime?" said Avner Shachov from Bat Yam. "Didn't [former attorney-general Michael] Ben-Yair let [former housing minister Binjamin] Ben-Eliezer off? Why is it okay for the left but not for the right?"

Shuki Tarmlin of Ramat Gan said that he did not believe Netanyahu knew about a conspiracy to appoint Bar-On. "If he did, the whole Likud house has to be cleaned," he said.

By the same token, Tarmlin asked why no one was accused of breach of faith when Alex Goldfarb and Gonen Segev were "bought off" by Labor in return for their votes on the Oslo accords.

"The Likud's only crime," interjected an activist named Yitzhak Mordechai, no relation to the defense minister, "is that when the Likud gets into power, it doesn't know how to run the country."

PULLBACK

Continued from Page 1

met Saturday night for a special session to discuss Fatah's strategy concerning Israel's decision to build at Har Homa. At the meeting, Fatah decided to support today's general strike.

During the next few days, Netanyahu will hold a series of consultations with security officials and ministerial colleagues regarding the scope of this Friday's pullback. A marathon cabinet session is likely on Thursday.

Last month, Clinton asked Netanyahu to agree to a pullback that involves about 10% of the West Bank.

Aides to Netanyahu have intimated that most of the pullback will be transforming areas which currently have a status of shared Israeli-Palestinian control (Area B) and designating them as territories under complete Palestinian control (Area A). Palestinians, of course, would prefer to gain territory under total Israeli control (Area C).

German president warns of hate

BONN (Reuters) - German President Roman Herzog yesterday warned against prejudice and called on citizens to be more brotherly towards one another, a day before he was due to take part in the German opening of the European Year against Racism and a day after neo-Nazis and left-wing activists faced off in Munich.

"People must recognise that negative images of others are dangerous fictions which must be put aside through patient education," Herzog told the launch of an annual week set up to improve relations between Germany's Christians and Jews.

Herzog is due to speak at the German opening of the European Year against Racism in Berlin today aimed at "pulling up the roots of racism and xenophobia."

The Year has a budget of 4.7 million European currency units (NIS 17 million).

Herzog said although Germany should be thankful it was not plagued by terrorism or civil war, it still had its problems.

"It is still doubtful whether a climate of real brotherliness prevails

here," Herzog said. Left-wing activists Saturday threw eggs, bottles and stones at neo-Nazis protesting in Munich against a controversial exhibition on German army crimes committed in the Nazi era.

But a two-hour standoff between around 8,000 left-wing activists and 4,500 right-wing extremists ended peacefully without any major clashes between the two groups.

Police said 55 people were detained during the day of rallies in the capital of the southern state of Bavaria and three people were injured, including one of the 2,000 police in the city center.

Thousands of local residents mixed with left-wing activists, blowing whistles and shouting "Nazis Out!" while blocking Munich's central Marienplatz where right-wing extremists had scheduled a rally.

Police formed a human barricade between the two groups about 100 meters from the Marienplatz, where the controversial exhibition is being staged, and allowed right-wing leaders to conduct their rally on the street.



Vanessa Redgrave (UPI)

Vanessa Redgrave put on neo-Nazi hit-list

LONDON (Reuters) - British actress Vanessa Redgrave revealed this weekend that she has been placed on a celebrity hit-list by the shadowy neo-Nazi group Combat 18.

Redgrave, 60, who is known for supporting left-wing causes and was recently reported to have a close friendship with black actor David Harewood, said she had been targeted for physical attack by the group.

"In April last year, Scotland Yard installed a safety alarm and panic button in my home because I and a number of celebrities, had been targeted for physical attack by Combat 18, the British fascist group," Redgrave said in a letter to the Daily Mail newspaper.

Other celebrities said to have been appeared on the hit list include soccer club and computer boss Alan Sugar, members of parliament Paddy Ashdown and Peter Hain, and journalists Anna Ford and Bernard Levin.

British police declined to confirm or deny the report for security reasons but it followed a Danish letter bomb campaign in January aimed at British sports stars in mixed race marriages.

Combat 18 was linked to the Danish campaign in which police in Denmark seized three letter bombs hidden in video cassettes and posted to addresses in London. Combat 18, formed in 1992, is named after the first and eighth letters of the alphabet A and H - the initials of Adolf Hitler. Police sources believe the group has about 100 members and have linked it to a number of apparently random attacks on Jews and blacks.

WORLD

in brief

Twisters, storms kill 20 in southern US

LITTLE ROCK, Arkansas (AP) - Tornadoes and thunderstorms have swept across Arkansas and four other states, flattening buildings, sweeping away mobile homes and flooding whole neighborhoods. As many as 20 people were killed and scores were injured. Five people were missing in Ohio. "It's horrible. The whole downtown is gone," said Jeremy Cox, of hard-hit Arkadelphia in central Arkansas. At least 15 people were killed in the state.

US-Saudi defense ministers plan hotline

DUBAI (Reuters) - Saudi Arabia and the United States have agreed to set up a hotline between their defense ministers to boost cooperation, a leading Saudi-owned newspaper said yesterday. Saudi Defense Minister Prince Sultan told the London-based *Asharq al-Awsat* that agreement on the telephone link was reached at his talks in Washington last week. Prince Sultan "noted the importance of the hotline which he said reflected American confidence in Saudi Arabia," it quoted him as saying. The countries operated a hotline during the 1990 Gulf crisis.

Iran to start presidential race next month

TEHRAN (Reuters) - Iran said yesterday registration of candidates for the May 23 presidential elections to elect a successor to President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani would open next month. Interior Minister Ali Mohammad Besharati promised fair and equal treatment to all contenders running in the poll, the seventh since the 1979 revolution.

Conservative Parliament Speaker Ali Akbar Nateq-Nouri appears to be the front-running candidate in the elections, in which Rafsanjani is constitutionally barred from running after serving two consecutive terms.

Hardline conservative Mohammad Mohammadi Reyshahari, a former intelligence minister, and former Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance Mohammad Khatami, who is backed by radical Islamist intellectuals, are among others who have announced their candidacy. Rafsanjani's centrist backers are still to announce a candidate.

Diana wins record libel damages

LONDON (AP) - Princess Diana won record libel damages from a newspaper that alleged she would profit from a charity auction, another newspaper reported Sunday.

The *Express on Sunday* paid at least £75,000 (NIS 400,000) to Diana, *The Sunday Telegraph* reported. That would make it the largest-ever libel damages won by a royal, although Queen Elizabeth II once won £100,000 in a breach of privacy suit. The *Express on Sunday* apologized for last week's story, saying it was the victim of forged documents.

Polish gunmen rob Latvians, kill tourist

WARSAW (Reuters) - Gunmen impersonating police officers held up a Latvian tourist coach in central Poland, killing one of the passengers and making off with \$6,000 in cash yesterday. Three armed men stopped the coach, bound for Germany, late Saturday night some 40 km southwest of Warsaw. The gunmen fired two shots at the ceiling and a third towards the back of the coach, killing a 27-year-old Latvian tourist. One of the gunmen wore a German policeman's uniform, while the others were masked, and all spoke Russian. Their Polish-built hatchback had a flashing light like those once used by Poland's police.

Scientist who identified czar's remains dies

GAINESVILLE, Florida (AP) - William Maples, a forensic anthropologist who helped identify the remains of Russian Czar Nicholas II and his family, has died of a brain tumor. He was 59. In addition to the czar case, Maples identified children killed in the May 1996 ValuJet crash in Florida. He also examined the remains of US President Zachary Taylor. Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro and John Merrick, known as "The Elephant Man." He also wrote the book *Dead Men Do Tell Tales*.

EYE ON THE MEDIA

DAVID BAR-ILLAN

Media reporting on Israel is not only relentlessly unfair but immensely harmful to Israel and to democratic values. The Jerusalem Post's popular and hard-hitting Eye on the Media column cites specific media reports and names to expose the bias, distortions and gross factual errors that plague such coverage. Reprinted here are 97 recent columns on the way the American, European - and Israeli - media report events. Eye on the Media is an eye opener, essential reading for everyone who cares about Israel, truth and journalistic ethics.

David Bar-illan's column is outstanding. He is 100% right. Teddy Kollek (Davar, August 21, 1992)

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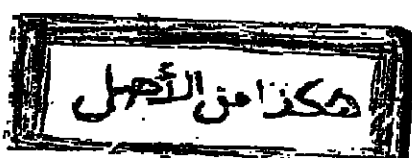
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MOVIE REVIEW

New-age Shakespeare 'Romeo & Juliet' goes psychedelic

By ADINA HOFFMAN

Purists may be put off by the zany pop art sparkle and flash of William Shakespeare's *Romeo & Juliet*, a tremendously energetic and calculatedly "low" modern-dress version of the tragedy. This will be their loss. By emphasizing the sexy, violent and even silly

aspects of the classic, Australian director Baz Luhrmann makes the play fresh for adults and accessible to MTV-fed teenagers who may be encountering Shakespeare for the first time.

What's more impressive still, he hasn't sacrificed much of the bard's language in the process. Never mind that Mercutio (Harold Perrineau) is a black, pill-peddling drag queen, or that the famous balcony scene takes place in a luxurious Southern California swimming pool, the high-school-aged lovers (pouty Leonardo DiCaprio and poised Claire Danes) speak their iambic pentameter with terrific conviction and feeling. Listening to the two of them, in fact, one may

be struck by the bright, cartoon col-
ors, drug-gy atmosphere and hip, rock sound-track of this rendition are merely a decoy, a clever way to draw young viewers to the theater. Luhrmann's real achievement lies in his understanding of the pumped-up passions that drive Shakespeare's adolescent characters. The play is, as originally written, extravagant in its excess: Romeo and Juliet are so young, so hasty to make grand promises and so flamboyant in their devotion to each other, they seem like a couple of kamikaze pilots in love. Most "tasteful" productions of the drama, though, work by muffling this wildness. Older actors are often cast in the leads, and the emotional outbursts of the later scenes are muted. Cumbersome period costumes and sets work to further stiffen the action. (Renato Castellani's handsome, restrained 1954 movie is a good example of this genteel approach, which provides its own pleasures but is unlikely

to win Shakespeare new fans.) Luhrmann and his co-writer Craig Pearce, on the other hand, grab the play by the throat, pandering rather shamelessly to potential new fans. They emphasize every grotesque twist and turn of the plot, and even add a few garish touches that come naturally to their neon-lit "Verona Beach" setting. Although the place has a surreal, slightly futuristic look, it seems just a friskier throw from OJ's LA; a TV anchorwoman, for example, speaks the Chorus's lines. In a quick, loud, sometimes dreamy style that recalls the texture of Luhrmann's 1992 debut film, the crude but winning *Strictly Ballroom*, they



Juliet (Claire Danes) awaits her lover.

give us bloody gun battles in place of graceful swordfights, and a blow-out party at the Capulet place, complete with fireworks, a lip-synch floor show, and a massive fish tank through which the star-cross'd lovers first glimpse one another. Although the play has been cut considerably, what remains is true to Shakespeare and, in the best scenes, the ornate Elizabethan dialogue takes on the sound of a funky new street language, a coded dialect spoken plausibly by the members of a few rival gangs.

Not surprisingly, given the movie's intended audience, the filmmakers lean heavily on the humor of the text. The lewd exchanges between Romeo and his buddies fit easily into Luhrmann's playful scheme, as does Miriam Margolyes's very funny performance as Juliet's Nurse, a hassled Latina nanny. Pete Postlethwaite is also amusing as Father (né Friar) Laurence, a New Age, tattooed priest whose dabbling in potions and exotic plants fits wonderfully both the play's poisonous outline and the film's psychedelic overtones.

The limitation, of course, to this jokey approach is that it renders the tragedy itself something of a sentimental afterthought. Young audiences will almost certainly enjoy the movie (a recent Jerusalem screening was packed with fascinated teenagers); whether or not they grasp the play's deeper meanings is another matter. The picture is, if nothing else, a rip-roaring introduction to Shakespeare.

NEWS of the muse

Grace pulls up to Peace Now

Grace Jones, '80s pop-singer and occasional film star, will perform a one-off concert here on March 20 at the Sharon-region Moshav Gan Haim. The Jamaican-born artist, best known for her sexually implicit chart-topping singles "Slave to the Rhythm" and "Pull Up to the Bumper" and her starring role as the bad-die in *A View to a Kill* in 1985, will be here as a guest of the Peace Now movement. It will be Jones's second trip here. Daniel J. Chaffin



Grace Jones

11 encores for IPO

Zubin Mehta recently led the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra in a one-week tour of Germany and Austria. Mehta and the IPO played Mozart's 41st Symphony, Brahms's First Symphony, Bartok's Concerto for Orchestra and Richard Strauss' *Ein Heldenleben*. After the final concert in Vienna, Mehta had to return to the stage for 11 curtain calls. Michael Aizenstadt

Shapovalov to represent Israel in Wales

Tenor Yevgeny Shapovalov has been selected as the Israeli representative in Wales's Singer of the World Competition in June. The event is regarded as one of the world's most prestigious singing competitions. Shapovalov is currently starring in *Master Class*. Michael Aizenstadt

Citizen Kane: The remake

British film director Ridley Scott is to remake *Citizen Kane*. The original version was made in 1941, when the 26-year-old Orson Welles directed, produced, co-wrote and starred in what many regard as the greatest film ever made. *Citizen Kane*, the story of a secretive and megalomaniac newspaper baron who lives in his own castle in California, Xanadu, is based on the life of newspaper tycoon William Randolph Hearst. Scott, maker of *Thelma & Louise* and *Blade Runner*, has received the blessing of Welles's daughter Beatrice to remake the film. Scott says he is fully aware of the gamble he is taking. "There is a strong danger of me looking foolish," he said last week. Jack Nicholson, Kenneth Branagh and Tim Robbins are the frontrunners to play Kane in the new version. Tom Gross

The volcano inside Orna Porat

By HELEN KAYE

Orna Porat has never been so unbuttoned onstage. Hair and hands flying, her black robes billowing like sails, she plays the fanatical Zeruah, mother of Jeroboam (Doron Tavori) in Nissim Aloni's *Most Cruel the King* at Habimah. "Zeruah is a woman consumed," says Porat. "She has a volcano inside her that keeps erupting. The role is physically demanding because she's almost always at full throttle. She's a religious fanatic, a believer, a woman with no sense of humor, so in order not to be a caricature I had to dig into myself. "She's written rather one-dimensionally. The others aren't, but she is." As well as Jeroboam, the others in question are King Rehoboam (Vigal Naor), and his queen Maacah (Sara von Schwarze). Aloni's play, first done at Habimah in 1953, is about lusts and their disastrous aftermath. The plot follows the deadly rivalry between Jeroboam and Rehoboam, chronicled in I Kings, chapter 12, and which resulted in the division of the Davidian kingdom into Judah and Israel. Zeruah's is not the central role but Porat, 73, took it because "I

love to work," she says, grinning like a kid. "When I read a play, I either see immediately what I want to do, or I read it and am not sure what I want to do with it. I'm still not sure on this one. There are still unanswered questions." The play, directed by Hanan Snir, reopened on the main stage on Saturday. The first performances were in mid-February, and since then Porat left for her favorite little pension in the Swiss Alps. She was going "to relax. To take long walks. My room looks out over the mountains, and there are thermal baths. I learned my lines for *Blood Wedding* and *King Lear* there. This time I'm not learning anything. I need a rest." This has been a tough six months. Last August her husband, Yosef, died after a heart attack "and I've been coping, coping, but... On the one hand working is a form of therapy and I'm grateful for it. On the other hand, it's the first time that Juppchen [her nickname for Yosef] wasn't there in the audience for the first show." *Most Cruel the King* is the first new role Porat has done since Yosef died. Theirs was a romance that started in Cologne six days after Germany's surrender in 1945 and lasted 52 years. She had been helping Russian and Polish pris-

oners escape. He was an intelligence officer detailed to question her. He married her instead and brought her home to Tel Aviv in 1947. Yosef Milló (who died last month) recognized talent when he saw it and Porat became a member of the Cameri Theater in 1948, staying with the company for 36 years. Yosef Porat, also German-born, was with the Mossad. Their lives dovetailed. He worked with Porat on her roles, feeding her cues, coming to rehearsals, a gentle, soft-voiced smiling little man who looked so innocuous. She often went abroad with him on missions, like the time they went to Morocco "to lay the groundwork for the peace with Egypt. My cover was perfect. Who knew that I was an Israeli actress? I was his German wife. We never spoke Hebrew, only English, French or German." When she married him, Porat knew that she'd often have to stay alone, and never complained. The characters Porat plays have steel in their backbones too, and sensitivities that they mostly hide, like Bernarda Alba, like the Robbitzen Feige in the long-running *Shevadele* or the title role in *Driving Miss Daisy*, for which she received the Golden Orange in



Orna Porat: 'In order not to be a caricature I had to dig into myself.'

1990. But Zeruah is something new. "I tossed myself into Zeruah like jumping into an abyss, without fear, just to enjoy the jump," she says. "I have no rational explanation for the way I work. The beauty of our profession is that the more you age, the better you get. When you're young, you tend to restrain yourself subconsciously because of what people may think, but today I don't. "Each role is different and I keep developing the part. It's such a joy to find new things without letting the others fade."

Maria Callas remembered

By HELEN KAYE

"It's not a monodrama," *Masecat* director Johnathon Pape reassures, "because so much of the play interacts with students. But it's a tour de force for one actress." Terence McNally's Tony Award-winning play which opened yesterday at Habimah, is about legendary diva Maria Callas whose offstage life was as tempestuous as that of her fictional opera heroines. She'd stopped singing in 1965, but in the early '70s Callas gave a series of master classes at Juilliard. They became the hottest ticket in town as everybody who was anybody stuffed themselves into the auditorium hoping to hear her sing. McNally, a devoted Callas fan, was at those master classes. The play is structured around one of them, says Pape, "and the interaction with each of the three students evokes memories, her thoughts on art. She was a consummate performer and loved being on stage. The master classes were perhaps her greatest performance." The play was written for Zoe Caldwell, who did it on Broadway. Faye Dunaway (who bought the film rights), and Patti Lupone have also done the role. Here, Gila Almagor is portraying Callas. "Each of the actresses brought something special to the role: Dunaway brought glamor, Caldwell a spartan elegance, Lupone vulnerability, and Gila brings to it Mediterranean exuberance," continues the director. *Master Class* combines two of



Gila Almagor brings 'Mediterranean exuberance' to the role of Maria Callas.

Pape's three areas of expertise: opera, straight theater and musical theater. "I like variety in my artistic as well as in my gastronomic diet," he says. Pape, 42, was born and grew up in Marion, Illinois, and started picking out tunes on the piano when he was three. He directed his first musical, *You're a Good Man, Charlie Brown*, while he was still in high school and then went on to get a double degree in music and theater. For a while he was an actor/singer/dancer doing summer stock, but he got his master's degree in directing "because the challenges of shaping the artistic whole were very exciting to me." One of the happiest times of his life was the six months he spent in the Czech Republic on a Fulbright scholarship in 1994. That happened because New York City Opera canceled a Janacek opera he'd gone to Prague to research, "and the city swallowed me. I had to go back." The cancellation provided the perfect lever. Coming here was another coincidence, sort of. His agents are also McNally's and "they recommended me. Gila was in Boston at the time. We met and clicked."

Solving the Beethoven enigma

By MICHAEL AIZENSTADT

Arie Vardi would like to see a full house greet him tonight as he mounts the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra podium at the Mann Auditorium in Tel Aviv, but he doubts he will. "If I had seen the ad in the papers for this concert, I would have avoided going," he says. "But it seems that the IPO is not allowed to present luring, evocative ads." Vardi believes that the audience at tonight's concert will enjoy a very special experience. This is not a regular IPO event. It is a one-off event in which Vardi will conduct the orchestra and explain things to the audience as the evening progresses. The program comprises many compositions never before heard here, including Beethoven's *Wellington's Victory*, a work which has long been an enigma. "This work was Beethoven's most popular opus during his own lifetime. But today it is considered as one of his worst works. I always wondered how it happened," says Vardi. And so Vardi set on a lengthy musical exploration which led him to realize that "this is a work which simply cannot receive any justice on disc. It calls for French and English trumpets and cannons, for example. On disc it just does not work. But this piece makes a lot of sense in the concert hall. It is a sort of environmental piece, something like a sound-and-light show against the walls of Jerusalem." Around this rarely performed



Arie Vardi conducts and explains at the same time.

opus, Vardi has created an entire program based on rarely performed works by Beethoven and some of his teachers like Haydn, Clementi and Albrechtsberger. "There are more than a few works on the program and without speaking to the audience about them it would have made no sense whatsoever." How do the IPO librarians treat Vardi's explorations into musical terra incognita? "I've been working for more than a decade with the IPO library staff because in my many IPO family concerts I choose relatively unknown works. It's a lot of work but they enjoy this musical hunt and I really appreciate what they

are doing." Vardi is well known in local and international musical circles as a pianist, conductor, lecturer, teacher and juror. For many years his interests have circled the entire gamut of activities any musician could have dreamed of. In the concert hall or in the classroom, on radio or television, Vardi has one major aim in his life: to make music accessible, interesting and invigorating for as wide an audience as possible. Vardi wholeheartedly believes that symphony orchestras nowadays should look for new ways to lure audiences into the concert hall and one possible way is to talk to the audience during the concert. "I believe it's very important to talk to the audience, it happens in concerts halls all over the world. In an era in which home entertainment seems to threaten the live concert experience, we must look for ways to enliven the traditional three-work concert experience. We know that there is no real competition here whatsoever because nothing can replace the live concert but the home entertainment industry is getting more sophisticated, and we must learn to live with it." Vardi realizes that the average concert-going audience does not like to be lectured at during the concert. "I'm not explaining or lecturing. The audience purchases tickets for a certain experience and I believe one can make that experience even more interesting with some basic explanations."

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HAIFA: 20 Nordau, Hadar Hacarmel, Telephone 04-8623166, Published daily except Saturday, in Jerusalem, Israel by The Palestine
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No rabbinical dispensation

Reports, later denied by the state attorney, that the spiritual and political leader of the Shas party, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, was to be questioned this week by police in their investigation of the Bar-On affair sparked vociferous protests from Interior Minister Eli Suissa and other Shas elected officials. Suissa's veiled threats — that the questioning of Yosef would be blocked, one way or another — represent a staggering disrespect for the rule of law, the mores of democratic government, and even the requirement to provide testimony according to Jewish law.

Ovadia Yosef is certainly worthy of respect by the legal system as is, one hopes, every citizen of the State of Israel. But he is not above the law. Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu was questioned recently under caution, and Supreme Court President Aharon Barak has also given testimony concerning the Bar-On affair. Neither were exempted from police questioning because of their lofty positions.

Yosef's followers argue that the rabbi is a revered religious leader, not a politician. Does this mean that only politicians can be witnesses in a police investigation? Or does it mean that assisting a police investigation — as a witness, not a suspect — is demeaning to a religious leader?

Shas politicians cannot have it both ways. They readily declare that Ovadia Yosef is the leader of their political party, and the sole decision-maker on any significant political matter. Given the pivotal role he plays in Israeli politics — and the flow of map-carrying generals, political leaders, and foreign ambassadors who come to brief him — it is a bit disingenuous to claim that he is entirely above politics.

If anyone is guilty of disrespect to Yosef, it is not the police but rather his political disciples who so readily imply that their leader should not or would not willingly participate in a police investigation. A more respectful expectation of Yosef would be that of one Shas supporter who called into a radio show to say that if the police wanted Yosef's help, he believes the rabbi would do his best to oblige.

Understandably, this caller saw the primary insult to the rabbi as coming from those who act as if the Shas leader had no interest in assisting the police and regards himself as being above the law.

Such an attitude would be especially strange coming from an esteemed rabbi, given the positive Jewish commandment to give testimony, whether it points to guilt or innocence. The rabbi's erstwhile supporters seem to be acting in

ignorance of this injunction, or are attributing to the rabbi such contempt for the police investigation that the ruling would not apply.

Again, neither option reflects well upon Yosef, nor on those who would speak in his name.

One wonders, in fact, whether the rabbi approves of other statements and actions by Shas politicians that exhibit a startling contempt for the rule of law. It is one thing, for example, for MK Aryeh Deri to proclaim his innocence. It is quite another to imply that the more Shas politicians are accused and even convicted, the more seats they will win in the Knesset.

Deri spokesman Yehuda Avidan recently told *Ma'ariv* that "The [state attorney] is more concerned than we are about opening a public trial [in the Bar-On matter], because then it will be necessary to try all the heads of the Labor Party. ... Deri would be very proud to stand in such a trial. Deri gave money to yeshivot, to yeshiva students, to ritual baths — and prevented discrimination. He did not take money for himself. This trial would, with God's help, give us 15 Knesset seats."

It is a dangerous signal in a democracy when a significant segment of society so loses faith in the legal system's fairness that it tolerates and even rewards politicians who wear their legal troubles like a badge of honor. A sure fire sign of this is when opinion polls show huge gaps in the way different groups regard court verdicts. In the United States, for example, 74 percent of whites agreed with the recent verdict against O. J. Simpson in his civil trial, while only 26 percent of blacks agreed.

In Israel, Shas politicians believe that their constituents are similarly distrustful of the legal system, and are attempting to turn legal straw into political gold. The demonization of Deri by the media and the assumption of his guilt certainly feeds into the perception among Sephardim that Israeli justice is not ethnicity-blind. Even if he and other accused Shas politicians are guilty as charged, there is the question of whether a double standard is being applied, and that what is politics-as-usual for some is held to be illegal for others.

Justice that is not equal is not justice. But if there is inequality in the law's application, the solution is not to tolerate corruption, but to root it out across the board. In the meantime, perceived injustice is no excuse for disrespect toward the rule of law. Shas politicians fail to show respect for themselves, their leader, or their constituents when they ignore the requirements of good citizenry and fan the politics of victimization.

For revival

GERALD M. STEINBERG

Over 50 years after the end of the Holocaust nightmare, the bank accounts, gold, property and other assets taken from the victims or smuggled out of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, France and other areas of Nazi stronghold and conquest are finally being pried from the vaults.

Some of these assets clearly belong to the surviving families

to feed a bloated bureaucracy.

Yad Vashem would be an appropriate place to begin. As the world's central Holocaust memorial, it has sought to ensure that each of the approximately six million Jewish victims is remembered.

For many years the institution was under-funded; a few years ago, it was forced to reduce its activities and let go some of its researchers. Since then, the government has increased its annual budgetary allocation, and other funds have been secured.

A large endowment, based on a part of the unclaimed assets of Jewish Holocaust victims, would provide Yad Vashem with the resources to fund ongoing education programs like the school for Holocaust studies, and develop related curricula and readings in many languages.

Additional funds, as available, could be divided among other institutions that fight Holocaust denial and deal with the problems and impact on second- and now even third-generation survivors.

The land around Auschwitz that was being used to construct a shopping center should be purchased and turned into a fitting memorial. The same approach could be applied, where appropriate and necessary, at the sites of other concentration camps in Europe.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the legacies of the victims — both as individuals and as members of the Jewish people — are best honored through Jewish education. After the Nazis, who physically devastated world Jewry, ignorance and assimilation is bringing a spiritual and cultural Holocaust.

In considering how to allocate the recovered and unclaimed funds, equal priority should be

Where the unclaimed assets of Holocaust victims should go

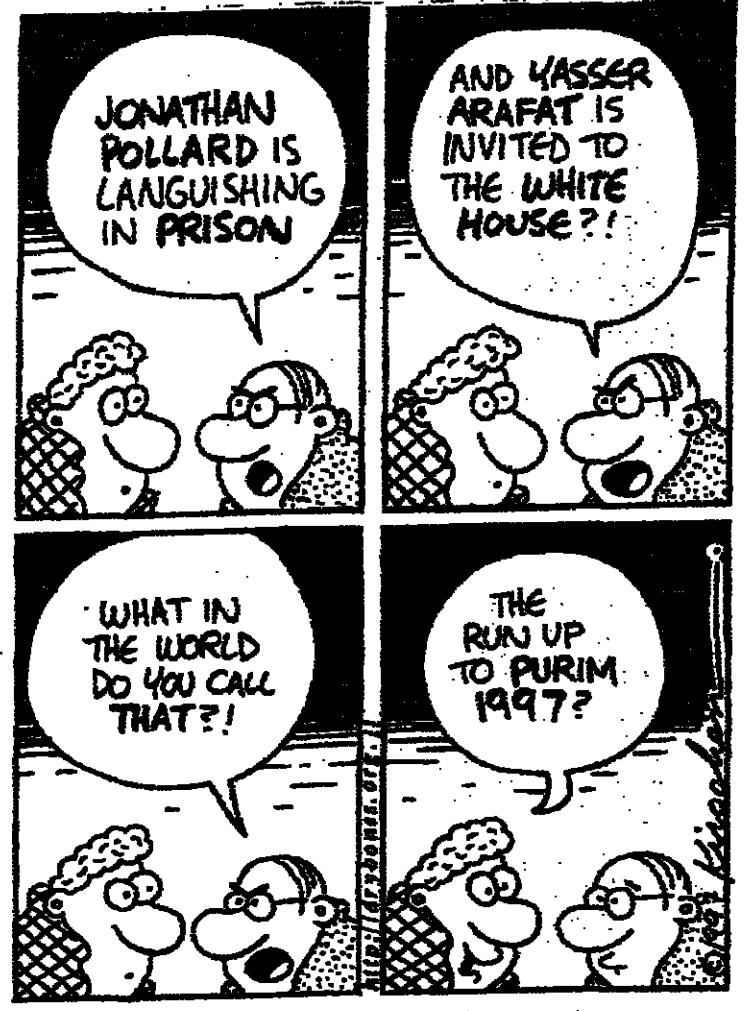
and heirs; after some resistance, mechanisms to return them are being created.

But vast sums of money, estimated by some to be on the order of \$7 billion or even more, including appreciation at nominal rates, cannot be returned to the families, because there are no survivors.

The focus has now shifted to deciding who should control and what should be done with these funds and assets. Representatives of the Israeli government, the Jewish Agency and the heads of various diaspora groups have started to meet in the effort to develop common objectives.

There is general agreement among the Jewish communities here and in the diaspora that the money and assets that cannot be claimed by the families of the victims should be dedicated to the memory of the victims, to fighting Holocaust denial and anti-Semitism, and to reviving the Jewish people through educational activities and programs. While these are the only appropriate responses, care must be taken to ensure that the money is not used

Dry Bones



given to institutions and programs directly engaged in these efforts to preserve and revive our people and our culture.

Many diaspora Jewish educational institutions are chronically short of funds for basic services, materials, and paying teachers.

Improving the quality of Jewish education, not only in terms of religious practice, but, more importantly, by teaching history, literature, and Jewish culture, would help restore some of the losses that devastated the Jewish people in this century.

Israel is now the core of Jewish cultural life, and the programs that

bring Jewish students and adults to Israel for summers, one-year study programs, and shorter workshops are growing.

By applying the money and resources stolen from the victims of the Nazis to these programs, in order to bring hundreds of thousands every year, and to make this opportunity available to every Jewish student, the legacy of the Six Million will be maintained for all time.

The writer is a senior research fellow at the Begin-Sadat Center of Strategic Studies, Bar-Ilan University.

Jerusalem in the world's eyes

SHLOMO GAZIT

The stormy disputes between MK Benny Begin and Binyamin Netanyahu, and between Labor and Likud, have interfered with our real appreciation of the diplomatic struggle that will eventually decide the fate of Jerusalem.

There are actually four separate orbits of dispute around the city, and of these the internal Israeli controversy is only one — in fact, it is the least important.

The other three orbits are the Israeli-Palestinian, the Jewish-Muslim, and the Jewish-Christian.

Half the human race — about 2.5 billion people — look to Jerusalem. To members of the three monotheistic faiths, it is the place where religious mysticism and physical existence converge. We tend to forget that only 14 million of these 2.5 billion — about half a percent — are Jews.

No one trying for a diplomatic solution to the problem of Jerusalem can afford to shrug off this demographic reality. It is significant because no solution for Jerusalem can survive unless it is acceptable to the vast majority of members of other religions, to those who also focus on this splendid city.

For 30 years, ever since the paratroop brigade commanded by Mordechai Gur conquered East Jerusalem and gained control of the Temple Mount, Israel has adopted a policy of creating facts in the city. A mere three weeks after hostilities ceased, the Knesset decided to impose Israeli law on both parts.

We created an unambiguous fact: The city became one. But 30 years have gone by, and no country has yet accepted the fact of

religious lines. This, indeed, has been Israel's greatest and most important settlement drive in the post-'67 period.

BUT intentions are one thing, facts another. We have not allowed freedom of worship in its true and complete sense for a long time.

Security considerations have forced us to impose all the various closures and prevent free movement of Arabs (Muslims and Christians) in and out of Jerusalem.

There has also certainly been the fear that Arabs would exploit the freedom of movement granted them to migrate into the city. We were, in other words, afraid of the Palestinian side creating their own facts.

The settlement project in the eastern part of the city has gone as far as it can. Israel has used up most of the free space there, whether it was originally govern-

ment property or land Israel acquired through expropriation.

From now on, Jewish construction in East Jerusalem will mostly involve penetrating into totally Arab neighborhoods, entailing diplomatic and media conflict, and occasionally actual violence.

Pope John Paul II's possible visit to Jerusalem and the controversy surrounding the construction at Har Homa have served to bring into focus the two orbits of controversy we tend to ignore.

Jerusalem as Israel's capital will not become acceptable in the eyes of world opinion unless we remember that any diplomatic and practical solution must answer the expectations of the 2.5 billion people for whom the city is sacred, even though they are not Jews.

So much for the facts; the choice is ours.

We can either continue laying emphasis on strengthening the foundations of physical Jewish presence in the city — and thereby weaken the force of our demand that the world recognize Israel's sovereignty and its right to sovereignty over it — or we can persuade the world that only during Israeli sovereignty in Jerusalem, and only if it continues, can freedom of worship in Jerusalem to all faiths truly be guaranteed.

It won't be easy for 2.5 billion believers to hand over the keys of the city to a religion which constitutes only half a percent of all those who look to Jerusalem.

We must not make it harder for them by not truly and totally protecting other religions' rights in it.

The writer is a former head of military intelligence.

Any solution must satisfy billions of people for whom the city is sacred, even though they aren't Jews

ing that they will go along with whatever Israel and the Palestinians work out.

Israel didn't stop with the fact of annexation. For 30 years we have striven to create facts proceeding in two directions that, seemingly, do not contradict one another.

Concurrent with the June 1967 Knesset decision came the first direction: our unequivocal commitment to freedom of worship in Jerusalem for all religions.

Now freedom of worship didn't mean Israeli noninterference in the content of that worship. Its overriding aspect was the invitation to members of all religions to come to Jerusalem whenever they chose, and the guarantee to all of free access to the holy sites.

Long before the opening of traffic across the Jordan bridges, Israel announced that any Arab resident in the West Bank or Gaza Strip could have unrestricted access to Jerusalem in order to fulfill the obligation of praying

up and join the intelligent swindlers' club, so he could usher in peace, and generally function in an efficient manner. Cheating the

His supporters are bitterly disillusioned over the man they elected, a leader whose actions are totally at odds with the policies he promoted.

If we can't reconcile truth and democracy, we're in trouble

electorate was a must, he added.

Really? The notion makes one shudder.

Netanyahu is doing what Yitzhak Rabin did, only worse. By criticizing Rabin for breaking his campaign pledges, he raised the expectations of both his antagonists and his supporters. And it is because of those disappointed expectations that Netanyahu is drawing such flack.

The writer, a former MK, is a colonel in the Air Force reserves.

'Intelligent swindlers' and others

YOASH TSIDDON-CHATTO

There's a lot to worry about during these depressing days of disappearing norms and disintegrating ethics.

But most worrying of all is the question of how long a democracy can continue — or, indeed, whether it can survive — when betrayal of the public's confidence and the leader's own electoral pledges becomes the rule rather than the exception.

Are truth and democratic rule mutually exclusive, a contradiction in terms?

Some time ago, a *Ma'ariv* article discussed the lack of political savvy and wisdom of honest politicians, whom it termed the "stupid righteous," setting it against the wonderful achievements of the "intelligent swindlers," i.e. those among whom the writer counted virtually everyone from Ben-Gurion on.

He expressed the wish that Binyamin Netanyahu would hurry

up and join the intelligent swindlers' club, so he could usher in peace, and generally function in an efficient manner. Cheating the

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during elections.

If a gross departure from electoral campaign pledges appears to become necessary in the eyes of the elected leadership, that departure should, by law, be brought before the people to decide in a referendum. And the law must be respected and implemented.

If we were able to achieve what we have achieved over the last 50 years in spite of all our wars, in spite of the Arabs, in spite of the Jews, in spite of our various governments (and imagine what we might have achieved without some of those), surely we should be able to reconcile truth with democracy in such a way as not to make a mockery out of the term democracy.

Quixotic? Maybe. Yet it's a must.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

HAREDI BASHING

Sir, — I am a haredi woman originating from an English-speaking non-haredi home. My parents pass their copies of *The Jerusalem Post* on to me. I can't break myself of the habit, though I wish I could. Quite apart from the political news, which is upsetting enough, I have to cope with a Jewish brand of anti-Semitism in the form of haredi bashing. My parents are equally concerned about it. Through me, they have come to know the haredi community, its variety, its warmth, the centrality of the family that used to be the Jewish people's bastion of strength and still is to us (and, to be fair, to the "knitted kippa" community, which is also being bashed for its uncompromising love of Israel and the Jewish people).

I have before me three issues of your esteemed daily dated February 10, 11 and 12. There is a crack at us in each one. How can Michael Boyden call himself a rabbi when he shows so much *sinat hinam* (causeless hatred)? According to both him and Yosef

Goell, none of us serves in the army and we are all a bunch of parasites. Funny, my husband did his full service and my neighbor's husband goes on reserve duty a couple of times a year. We also pay taxes and run businesses.

I would challenge Mr. Goell to make a survey of the haredi volunteer organizations that serve religious, secular and Arab alike. Let him make a start with Ezer Mi'Zion and its remarkable service to the community, and go on from there. He will have his time filled and will make some interesting discoveries.

Yes, we have our misfits, as does every society. Those who throw stones on Shabbat are misfits and are a tiny minority, utterly abhorrent to the majority of haredim. They are also doing something that is absolutely prohibited by Halacha. But, of course, we are all to blame.

Would Goell like me to blame him for the drug addicts who are virtually all secular? For the increase in alcoholism among

secular youth and the resultant traffic accidents when that precious family jewel, *erev Shabbat*, becomes pub night?

May I end on a positive note and thank Gerd Fay Cashman for her kind words of February 12. I knew of the late Joan Comay and was delighted with that quote. Yes, Ms. Cashman, we are bringing up loyal Jewish families that rarely leave the country, that love the People and Land of Israel as our Torah commands us to, even those Jews who err. Meanwhile, we are still one people. Visiting the sick, helping those in need; all this and much more is part of our lifestyle and for a lifetime. We don't serve the community for a couple of years and then lead selfish, materialistic lives. Coming from outside the haredi world, I can particularly appreciate the role we play. An esteemed daily like *The Jerusalem Post* should promote more understanding.

M. ZIPORA STEIN
Jerusalem.

THE REFORM AND CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENTS

Sir, — You reported on February 21 that Rabbi Eric Yoffie, head of the Reform movement in the US, doesn't know why immigrants from the former Soviet Union have not become allies of the (Israeli) Reform and Conservative movements. I suggest that the reason is the same one that "traditional" and secular Israelis haven't flocked to the Reform and Conservative movements.

Most of what Israelis (including the ex-Soviet Union immigrants) know about these movements has been gained from media reports which, in the main, have dealt with controversial issues such as the invalidity of burials, marriages and conversions conducted by Reform or Conservative rabbis. Before Israelis become associated with the Reform and Conservative movements, they need to know much more about what these

movements are and what can be gained from becoming involved with them. (Indeed, a difficult task when "the state" continues to distort the reality.)

An extensive, ongoing educational campaign is needed to make the basis, ideals and aims of the Reform and Conservative movements known to Israelis. These movements have much more substance than only the desire to conduct officially recognized burials, marriages and conversions. Israelis must get rid of the widely-held (mis)perception that these movements are "evil" and not "real" Judaism — but that they provide something very positive: a dimension of spirituality and religious belief and practice, which is absent from the lives of many Israelis.

Any product needs to be marketed. It is not enough to merely produce something and hope that people will flock to "acquire" it.

Reform and Conservative Judaism are relatively new "products" on the Israeli market, and they need to be marketed as such. The "market" must be made aware of the positive aspects of the "product," and of the fact that the Reform and Conservative movements are not "watered-down" versions of Orthodox Judaism, but something very positive in and of themselves.

I believe that without such an educational campaign, the Reform and Conservative movements will continue to be perceived by Israelis as another American import — for Americans, and as a corrupted version of traditional Judaism... and Rabbi Yoffie will continue to wonder why they don't gain new "allies."

KEVIN SEKEL
Mevaseret Zion.

POSTSCRIPT

LOTTERIES MAY be a fine way to throw away money for most people, but for some people...

In Montreal, a woman who had to pinch pennies to pay for her AIDS medication won US\$7.3 million. "I've never been so lucky," said

Antionette Distilio, a 51-year-old resident of an AIDS hospice.

She said she would share her winnings with friends and family, as well as an anti-AIDS foundation. "I'm looking forward to a much better quality of life, for me and my

friends. For how long, I don't know," Distilio said.

Meanwhile, in New York, a single mother of two children won a \$4 million jackpot just one day after being evicted from her Brooklyn home.

"Does anyone want to marry me?" winner Princess Caesar, jokingly asked reporters after her windfall was announced.

Cesar did not expect her life to change — though she might now be able to afford rent.



Party Favors



The party hardly ever stops. On Jan. 28, a week after the Inauguration, President Clinton addressed a Democratic fund-raising event in Washington.

At the White House, Entertaining With a Difference

By ADAM CLYMER

WASHINGTON
 It can be argued that there was no difference between the big contributors the Republicans called Team 100 coming to an annual dinner and, a few years later, dozens of donors in their Doctor Dentons arriving as President Clinton's guests.

In each case the law was obeyed, so long as the events were thank-you's for past generosity and no one was hit up for more until they left the White House grounds. Its business of fund-raising in the 1996 campaign was, the White House says, business as usual.

But on a level of reality and reflection that the capital rarely attains, the Clinton campaign's use of the White House for coffee parties and Lincoln Bedroom sleep-overs is different. It is a difference in scale so vast that it is a difference in kind.

"The people's house," as no less a populist than Nancy Reagan once called it, was transformed. Not, as *The Washington Times* put it, into a bordello, but into something more like one of those fancy anterooms the best department stores used to maintain for their top-drawer clientele to shop in peace.

The White House bakers were working overtime preparing pastries while the President curtailed the policy discussions he loves in order to have coffee with contributors not quite generous enough for sleep-overs. Golf games and rides on Air Force One were other opportunities for the President to cement his new friendships with his new donors.

But if the White House argument that this was nothing special — or not as bad as someone else once did



— is foolish, so is the insistence by most Republicans here that the only issue is the moral failings of a President who beat them twice.

It's the system, stupid.
 A more fastidious Democratic incumbent might have kept the premises freer of crass fund-raising. And a far more fastidious incumbent might have lost. At least that is what Mr. Clinton thought when he decided in 1995 that to be re-elected, he had to spend far more millions on television advertising than he could expect to

raise without exploiting the White House.
 Nor was he unique in sailing close to the wind. With the utter breakdown of the restraints on campaign financing that followed Watergate, the continuous money chase is now an exercise in meaningless distinctions.

To obey the law against raising money on Federal property, members of Congress go a block or two from their offices to party headquarters, where telephones are made available for an hour or two for shaking the money tree. Political parties (and unions and interest groups of all kinds) communicate on what they call "issue ads" on television. They say that candidate A has made the nation prosper, or candidate B beats his wife. But as long as they don't use words like "vote for" or "defeat," the free-speech theology of the Supreme Court says it is O.K. Foreigners — the Riady family of Indonesia, for example — can give campaign contributions if they are permanent residents of the United States; otherwise, they may not.

And most important of all, 90 years after the Corrupt Practices Act barred corporations from giving to campaigns for Federal office, and 25 years after Maurice Stans collected suitcases full of corporate cash for Richard Nixon's re-election effort, corporate dollars

are back. Philip Morris, for example, bought into the Republican Party for a total of \$3.2 million, most of it in unregulated "soft money" spent in huge quantities on television ads.

But in every area, from soft money to "issue ads" to individual fund-raising, to establishing and maintaining fund-raising clubs that promise special access to the powerful, the Republicans are more accomplished.

They start with an advantage: more rich people are Republicans than Democrats. But Republicans also do better at tapping the unrich. They have worked at it longer, and they have ironed out the kinks in their operations.

In contrast, President Clinton found himself the first Democratic incumbent since the rise of soft money. Jimmy Carter, after all, was President back when the post-Watergate reforms really worked, and he and Ronald Reagan both ran in the general election with only the \$29.4 million they got from the Treasury.

So the Clinton campaign used the most valuable resources: the President and his residence. Of course those symbols are no longer revered as they were in

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Soul Searching

Don't Worry. A Brain Still Can't Be Cloned.

By GEORGE JOHNSON

EXPLORERS returning from distant lands tell of aborigines so afraid of cameras that they recoil from the sight of a lens as if they were looking down the barrel of a gun. Taking their picture, they fear, is the same as stealing their soul. You might as well just shoot them dead on the spot. Knowing that a photograph is only skin deep, people in the developed lands find such terror absurd. But the fear that one's very identity might be stolen, that one could cease to be an individual, runs deep even in places where cameras seem benign.

The queasiness many people feel over the news last week that a scientist in Scotland has made a carbon copy of a sheep comes down to this: if a cell can be taken from a human being and used to create a genetically identical double, then any of us could lose our uniqueness. One would no longer be a self.

There are plenty of other reasons to worry about this new divide the biologists have trumpeted across. Nightmare of the week goes to those who imagine docile flocks of enslaved clones raised for body parts.

But the most fundamental fear is that the soul will be taken by this penetrating new photography called cloning. And here, at

least, the notion is just as superstitious as the aborigines'. There is one part of life biotechnology will never touch. While it is possible to clone a body, it is impossible to clone a brain.

That each creature from microbe to man is unique in all the world is amazing when you consider that every life form is assembled from the same identical building blocks. Every electron in the universe is indistinguishable, by definition. You can't tell one from the other by examining it for nicks and scratches. All protons and all neutrons are also precisely the same.

And when you put these three kinds of particles together to make atoms, there is still no individuality. Every carbon atom and every hydrogen atom is the same. When atoms are strung together into complex molecules — the enzymes and other proteins — this uniformity begins to break down. Minor variations occur.

But it is at the next step up the ladder that something strange and wonderful happens. There are so many ways molecules can be combined into the complex little machines called cells that no two of them can be exactly alike. Even cloned cells, with identical sets of genes, vary somewhat in shape or coloration. The variations are so subtle they can usually be ignored. But when cells are combined to form organisms, the differences become overwhelming. A threshold is



Dolly, the ewe cloned in Scotland, meets the press at the Roslin Institute.

crossed and individuality is born.
 Two genetically identical twins inside a womb will unfold in slightly different ways. The shape of the kidneys or the curve of the skull won't be quite the same. The differences are small enough that an organ from one twin can probably be transplanted into the other. But with the organs called brains the differences become profound.

All a body's tissues — bone, skin, muscle, and so forth — are made by taking the same kind of cell and repeating it over and over again. But with brain tissue there is no such monotony.
 The precise layout of the cells, which neuron is connected to which, makes all the difference. Linked one with the other, through the junctions called synapses, neurons form the whorls of circuitry whose

twists and turns make us who we are.

In the reigning metaphor, the genome, the coils of DNA that carry the genetic information, can be thought of as a computer directing the assembly of the embryo. Back-of-the-envelope calculations show how much information a human genome contains and how much information is required to specify the trillions of connections in a single brain.

The conclusion is inescapable: the problem of wiring up a brain is so complex that it is beyond the power of the genomic computer.

The best the genes can do is indicate the rough layout of the wiring, the general shape of the brain. Neurons, in this early stage, are thrown together more or less at

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Government Certified
 That's not a drug smuggler. It's a policeman.

By Tim Weiner

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Irrational Exuberance
 A nation of Alfred E. Newmans.

By Leslie Eaton

3

Across the Border
 Mexico's other drug trade.

By Allen R. Myerson

2

The World

Crows Are White. We Swear.

By TIM WEINER

THE Government once dealt with ugly truths by lying to the public. That wasn't a U-2 spy plane the Russians shot down, it was a weather satellite. Americans had nothing to do with the Bay of Pigs. There was light at the end of the tunnel in Vietnam.

All this convinced too many Americans that the Government could not be believed. So the Government came up with a new idea. It lies to itself. This is called certification — that is, formally stating to Congress that something is true, whether it is true or not. It lets the Government say, in Richard Pryor's deathless phrase: "Who you gonna believe — me or your lying eyes?"

The mendacious modern history of certification in American foreign policy begins in El Salvador, proceeds to Pakistan and now resides in Mexico. The Clinton Administration, grinning stiffly in the face of Mexico's profound political corruption and official narcotics, is now certifying that the war on drugs proceeds apace in Mexico (in contrast to Colombia, which was again denied certification as an ally against the drug trade).

On its face, certification is a device, brought into vogue after the high-handed lies of Vietnam and Watergate, with which the President of the United States can reassure Congress that the Government isn't hiding unpleasant facts about countries it wants to help. If the President wants to send other nations military or economic aid, for example, Congress can insist on having the Government's word that those countries are



Mexican federal police wait to be replaced by soldiers after allegations of corruption.

punishments are often more apparent than real," says a new study by the Council on Foreign Relations.

In January 1982, Congress struck a deal with the Reagan Administration. It would approve military aid to El Salvador if the President would certify that El Salvador respected basic standards of human rights. A few weeks earlier, a United States-trained battalion of Salvadoran soldiers had swept through six villages on a search-and-destroy mission. The soldiers massacred more than 500 civilians, concentrating on a village named El Mozote, where, as a 1993 United Nations report said, "the men were tortured and executed, then the women were executed and finally, the children."

The New York Times and The Washington Post reported the massacre. An American Embassy officer reported interviewing a refugee couple who said they saw dozens of bodies at the hamlet. The Pentagon had just issued a secret report calling the Salvadoran military "an army of occupation." The Reagan Administration's Ambassador in El Salvador had just reported that a cashiered major who led death squads and was still influential had overseen the assassination of San Salvador's Archbishop, Oscar Arnulfo Romero, in 1980.

Days later, President Reagan certified that El Salvador was making progress in adhering to international human rights standards. The Reagan Administration repeated the certification charade four times

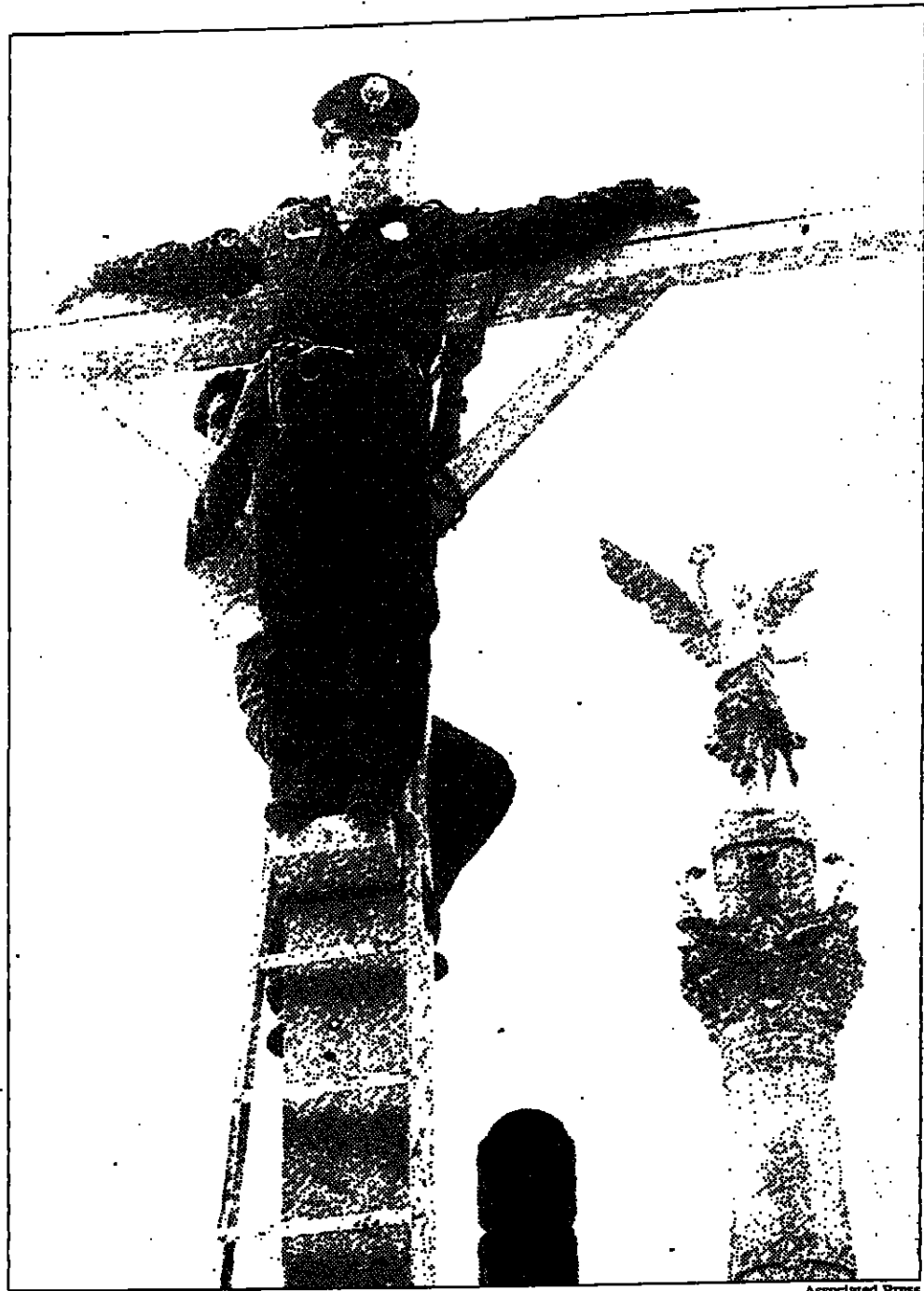
in four years. Overwhelming evidence in a recent United Nations report showed that the Reagan Administration knew of the worst human rights abuses in El Salvador and withheld the information from Congress. The war on Communism in Central America took precedence. Finally, unable to vouch for the integrity and professionalism of the Salvadoran military any longer, President Reagan abolished the certification process for El Salvador with a pocket veto.

That same year, 1985, Congress passed a law requiring the President to certify that Pakistan was not producing nuclear weapons. Without that certification, Congress would cut off military aid. For five years, President Reagan and President Bush certified with a straight face that Pakistan had no nuclear weapons program.

'Unambiguous Evidence'

The State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon knew perfectly well that this was malarkey. "There is unambiguous evidence that Pakistan is actively pursuing a nuclear weapons program," reads a recently declassified State Department memorandum dated June 23, 1983. It goes on to describe in detail how Pakistan had bought, borrowed and stolen the technology to build the bomb.

Again, the war on Communism took precedence. Pakistan was the conduit for the



A policeman protesting corruption tied himself to a cross in Mexico City last October.

C.I.A.'s \$3 billion weapons pipeline to the brave and crazy guerrillas of Afghanistan, who were fighting off Soviet invaders.

This went on for five years. Finally, in 1990 — after the Soviets had left Afghanistan — President Bush said he could no longer certify that a crow was white.

Which brings the narrative to Mexico, so far from God and so close to the United States. In the words of Porfirio Diaz, the dictator overthrown by the Mexican revolution, "No country in the world poses a more immediate narcotics threat to the United States than Mexico," reads a recent State Department report, which fails to note that America's addictions invite the threat.

The arrest of Mexico's latest drug czar, Gen. Jesús Gutiérrez Rebollo, who is suspected of being a paid employee of one of Mexico's largest drug cartels, did not go unnoticed in Washington. It was particularly painful that Washington's own drug czar, retired Gen. Barry McCaffrey, recently praised his Mexican counterpart as a man of "absolute unquestioned integrity."

And it was simply the latest proof that

there is a certain pungency to the political leadership and the law-enforcement institutions of Mexico. It is the smell of money: the \$30 billion pumped into the higher echelons of the Mexican economy by the drug trade.

President Clinton faced a choice last week. He could have decertified Mexico, and cut off most economic assistance. He could have chosen a Clintonian compromise: decertify, but waive the penalties. Instead, he chose to reaffirm that Mexico fought the war on drugs tooth and nail last year, after extracting promises from Mexico that it would really and truly fight drug tooth and nail in the future.

The certification process is a "disaster," Senator Christopher Dodd, a Connecticut Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said recently. "If we subjected our own country to this test, we wouldn't pass it." So the United States continues to tell itself noble lies in the name of national security, a tradition defined by the Renaissance scholar Erasmus as "falsifications by which the crass multitude is deceived in its own interests."

Presidents certify that what Congress wants is true, even if it isn't.

helping to curb drugs or human-rights abuses or the spread of weapons. At first, it seemed like a powerful weapon. Congress placed conditions on sending guns or money overseas: no cooperation, no aid. But even forcing the Government to put things into writing turns out to do little to improve the credibility of its word.

In reality, the White House often uses certification as a convenient cover to do what it pleases, no matter what the nation's diplomats or intelligence analysts say is really going on abroad. For Congress, too, it is a dodge: a way to say it has done its bit for human rights or arms control or drug control without really putting its foot down. It has become a game with rules that are "vague and inconsistently applied, while the

The Other Mexican Drug Trade

Pill-Popping Deals by Prescription

By ALLEN R. MYERSON

AS more reports of corrupt dealings between narcotics traffickers and top Mexican officials emerged last week, another, more open form of drug dealing continued to flourish along the border here.

On a street steps away from the bridge linking this city's downtown with Laredo, Texas, up a narrow flight of stairs with exposed wiring leading to a bare bulb, was a doctor's office to which a visitor had been referred by a pharmacy around the corner.

"Valium?" said a woman in a white doctor's jacket, who didn't seem at all to be the physician named Horacio whose name appeared on her prescription forms. The visitor confirmed his request with a nod.

She filled out two forms, one for the drugstore, one for United States Customs. "Ten dollars, please," she said.

She changed a twenty. Was she a doctor too, or perhaps a nurse? "The doctor's assistant," she said.

Back on the street, half a dozen drugstores could be found nearby during a three-minute stroll, along with several more doctors' offices, at the ready to dispense prescriptions for American customers.

They are outlets in the other, less-publicized Mexican-American drug trade. American retirees and pill-popping youths have become mules of a sort in a market with some of the same dynamics as the violent trade in illicit drugs. There is robust demand on the American side, cheap and ample supply on the Mexican and a casual regard for legal niceties.

Though nobody keeps precise records, one recent study estimated that visitors legally brought back about 4 million Valium tablets through Laredo alone in a one-year period, along with large quantities of drugs like Halcion, Ritalin and Percodan. Law enforcement officials say that while some customers buy just for themselves, others go across day after day, stocking up on pills for pennies to resell illegally for \$5 each back home.

Young and Old

Traditionally, the buyers have been ailing elderly Americans whose Medicare insurance doesn't cover drugs and who can afford essential medicines only at Mexican prices. They sometimes ride buses for 14 hours or more each way, from as far away as Louisiana. Increasingly, however, the customers are hard-partying, drug-dealing youths in their own cars.

Jose A. Garcia, a top Customs Service official in Laredo, said inspectors are nearly weaponless against such young buyers in what he calls the "pill war." Especially on weekends, swarms return from trips to Nuevo Laredo with 90-day supplies (the legal maximum) of drugs like Valium, each brandishing the Mexican doctor's prescription needed to make the purchase legal.

"Nyah, nyah, nyah, nyah — you can't touch me," he said, loudly mimicking their attitude. "They look you



Prescription drugs are cheap and easily obtainable at stores in Mexican border towns like Nuevo Laredo.

right in the eye and say, 'I'm 19 years old and I have had a nervous breakdown.'"

By now, Mr. Garcia looked like he needed some Valium himself. "There's nothing I can do," he said.

Mexico has long been a destination for Americans seeking pleasures harder to obtain back home. Nuevo Laredo has a red-light "zona de tolerancia" and the old Cadillac Bar (albeit renamed in an ownership feud), a dusky refuge dating back to Prohibition.

Growth Industry

In border towns like this, however, the hawking of pharmaceuticals to Americans has become the growth industry, the more so since the peso's crash two years ago made drugs even cheaper for those with dollars.

At Benovides Pharmacy in Nuevo Laredo, 90 Valium tablets come to \$9.58. At a chain drugstore in Dallas, the same supply would cost \$88.57. Fifty tablets of Zantac, the ulcer medication, costs \$73.59 in the United States with a prescription, but only \$23.74 in Mexico, no prescription needed.

Explaining lower prices south of the border, drug companies point to lower production costs in Mexico, adding that they have to recoup research and development expenses in the more lucrative United States market. Many critics say these costs are overstated.

Under Mexican regulations, all but mood-altering drugs are generally available without a prescription. And new, experimental and even doubtful drugs are approved more readily than they are in the United States.

Decades ago, American cancer patients come south of the border for sham treatments like Laetrile. In the late 1980's, AIDS victims came to buy promising drugs that the Food and Drug Administration was slow to approve. Since then, the agency has speeded its approvals; the most advanced drugs are now available only in the United States.

Three years ago, several American pharmacists' associations, smarting from their Mexican competition and eager to denigrate it, hired scholars from the University of Texas College of Pharmacy to study Customs declarations at Laredo.

The 14 drugs most often purchased through the year ended June 1995 were all what the United States somewhat vainly calls controlled substances. Valium was the most popular, followed by Rohypnol, or "roofies" — a powerful anxiety-relief medication used in the commission of so many "date rapes" that the Drug Enforcement Administration banned the tablets a year ago.

More than 80 percent of the buyers were men, median age 24.

With such traffic growing over the last few years, Texas has been applying its own laws banning controlled substances not prescribed by a doctor licensed in the state. So those who clear the Feds at the border can still be pulled over and arrested by state troopers.

As Sgt. Charles A. Haight of the Texas Highway Patrol, put it, "It's not grandma and grandpa getting their heart medicine out here."

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The Nation

The Bulls and Bears and the Little Pigs

By LESLIE EATON

If American investors don't have the sense God gave geese, what's it to Alan Greenspan?

Mr. Greenspan, the ordinarily oracular chairman of the Federal Reserve, again suggested, rather bluntly last Wednesday that the stock market might be suffering from a bout of "irrational exuberance," which could ultimately force the Fed to raise interest rates. If that happens, stock prices would inevitably fall.

Investors pretty much shrugged off the warning — stocks edged down about 2 percent by the end of the week. Some market seers rushed to attack Mr. Greenspan as a stuffy old party pooper who failed to appreciate the wonders of the new age of investing (in which stocks always go up).

Cooking Books

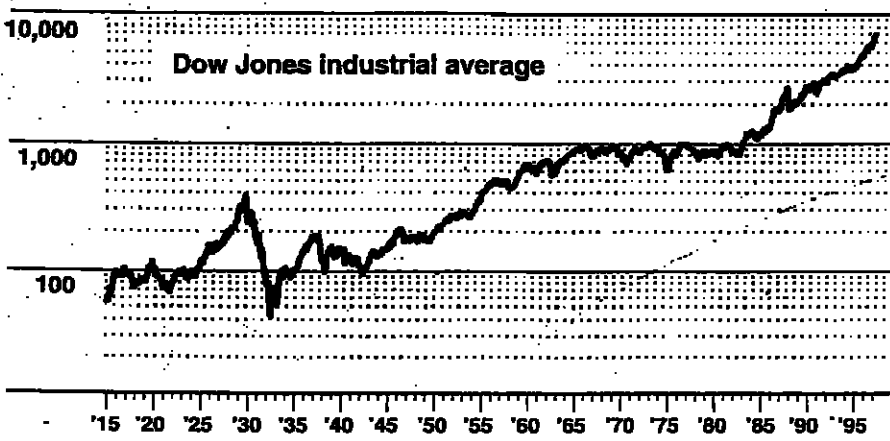
As if that was not enough to prove Mr. Greenspan's point about irrationality, consider the case of Centennial Technologies, which early last week zoomed from \$2.75 to \$14.75 based on the offhand remark of the company's new chief executive that sales were "exceptional." Any sales should have been, considering that the company, last year's biggest gainer on the New York Stock Exchange, had been cooking its books. Its recently fired president was arrested on Valentine's Day.

Investors knew all of this but apparently were hoping against hope that things were not as bad as they looked. They were worse. Centennial, which is described as being in the computer equipment business, announced Thursday that it had never earned any money in all the years it has been public. The stock dropped back below \$2.75.

But so what? Why would Mr. Greenspan worry if a lot of silly, greedy people lost money? Or even if all those people "saving" for retirement with stock funds suffer if the

Redrawing the Dow

This chart, plotted on a logarithmic scale, gives the same visual weight to comparable percentage changes in the Dow Jones industrial average. A 100-point rise when the Dow is at 1,000 looks the same here as a 700-point rise at 7,000. Seen this way, it's easy to see why investors have ignored recent declines.



Short Memory

One reason for optimism is that most investors have not lived through a prolonged bear market.

The number of months after each major market decline before the Dow regained its previous high.

1929	302 months
1973-74	118 months
1987	24 months

The New York Times

market tumbles?

The problem for Mr. Greenspan is that, in complicated ways, what happens on Wall Street affects the real world, too. And in that world Mr. Greenspan is charged with keeping the economy growing, which means keeping inflation down.

Or as he put it in his testimony before Congress last week, "History demonstrates that participants in financial markets are susceptible to waves of optimism, which can in turn foster a general process of asset-price inflation that can feed through into markets for goods and services." In other words, inflated stocks and other assets can cause increases elsewhere.

One way this happens is through the so-called wealth effect: people whose investment portfolios have grown feel richer and

so are more willing to spend money. Though people investing for their retirements do not seem to be spending more, the rich people who own three-quarters of all the stocks that are not in pension plans are spending, not saving, Mr. Greenspan noted. Left unsaid but true is that the more people want to buy something, the more its price tends to go up. Markets that soar are also more likely to plunge, and that can cause recessions. People who see their life savings shrivel cut back radically on spending.

Fed to the Rescue

And the effects of a plunge could be more widespread than ever. A recent poll by Peter D. Hart Research Associates for the Nasdaq Stock Market found that since 1990, the per-

centage of Americans who own stocks directly or through mutual funds has more than doubled, to 43 percent. Most of those folks expect stocks to go up; only a few have ever been through a real bear market.

A market drop can end up causing the inflation that is Mr. Greenspan's nightmare. After the market crash of 1987, "the Fed came to the rescue of broker-dealers and the banking system, and created so much liquidity that it engendered inflation in 1988 and 1989," said David Shulman, the chief strategist for Salomon Brothers. If the market plunges and the Fed bails out the financial system again, he added, "we risk inflation in 1996 and 1997."

Finally, the stock market is important because it reflects the real world and what people think about the future. "It holds up a

The Fed Chairman is on a mission to warn exuberant investors.

mirror to the societal mood" said James Grant, who wrote "The Trouble With Prosperity" (Random House, 1996). Mr. Grant argues that "the Whitewater scandal failed to catch the public's attention for approximately the same reason the Dow Jones industrial average is near 7,000 — people want to see that the glass is 'half full.'" Watergate might not have seemed so cataclysmic, he suggested, if it had not occurred during the worst stock market in decades.

Psychology may be as important as reality in determining what happens to the economy and inflation, which is why Mr. Greenspan sometimes sounds more like a Freudian analyst than an economic one. One problem with unbridled optimism is that people take risks that are basically wacky, as real estate developers did in the 1980's. Another is that the higher people's expectations are, the more likely they are to be disappointed.

Some people on Wall Street think Mr. Greenspan was not telling people that stock valuations are too high as much as he was reminding them that things can go wrong. "He thinks free markets set the right price in the end, but he's forcing people to re-examine their assumptions more carefully," said Richard Hoey, the chief economist for the Dreyfus Corporation, the large mutual fund concern.

But a cynical few suggest that he may simply be sounding a note of caution for the history books, in case the market does crash. After all, nobody wants to be remembered as the guy who said stocks were swell in 1929, or called the Titanic unsinkable. In the end Dr. Doom gets more respect than Dr. Pangloss.

Pass the \$16,666.67 Danish, Please

By MARIAN BURROS

Cooking with the President? Yes, but what did the White House serve with the small talk?

You might expect the menu at a White House kaffeeklatsch to include better-than-average coffee and exquisite pastries.

Well, the Democratic donors who went cup to cup with President Clinton drank neither an exotic, expensive blend nor one that East Coast consumers can find at their supermarkets. It was MJB, a brand that originated in California and is marketed mainly to hotels and restaurants for about \$3 a pound, although the White House probably wanted the large economy size. The Democrats scheduled 103 coffees with the President, which helped raised \$27 million for the 1996 campaign.

Ah, but the sweets. The White House is blessed with one of the best pastry chefs in the nation, Roland Mesnier. When his fantasy desserts are served at state dinners, guests wish for seconds. The Democratic contributors could choose from an assortment that included Danish stuffed with almond paste and topped with fresh raspberries. Sometimes the Danish had mango slices. Sometimes miniature croissants and pain au chocolat were served.

The coffees, which were an integral part of the Democrats' effort to raise large amounts of unlimited funds, threw the pastry kitchen into

fund-raisers never solicited contributions at the White House or sold admission to the coffees or to overnight stays in the Lincoln Bedroom. Even donors in the modest (say, four-figure) range were treated to some of Mr. Mesnier's best work. "I was invited to high tea and the petits fours were fabulous," said one of the contributors, Marie Ridder, the former head of the Virginia Council on the Environment and the widow of the newspaper executive Walter T. Ridder. "It was like a Viennese pastry shop."

Overnight guests in the Lincoln Bedroom or the Queen's Bedroom had no such treats. Breakfast, which can be ordered from a card like those found in many hotel rooms, comes from the main kitchen.

A Bagel for Mr. Clinton

For the coffees, the two pastry chefs made three Danish for each person. Based on a contribution of \$50,000, each pastry cost \$16,666.67 (beverage included). Even one of the most expensive bakeries in New York City where the prices are always remarked upon — except by those who shop there — does not come close. At E.A.T., on Madison Avenue, one miniature Danish goes for \$3.

The coffee, while fairly cheap, was served elegantly. A steaming mug with the President's picture on the side? Certainly not. The windowless White House Map Room, which was Franklin D. Roosevelt's command post in World War II and which Mr. Clinton used for many of the contributors' gatherings, is a cup-and-saucer kind of place.

Before Mr. Clinton arrived, a butler served the guests coffee as well as tea and orange juice.

The MJB brand is a product of the American arm of Nestlé S.A., the Swiss conglomerate. For guests who disliked caffeine, the White House offered Folger's decaffeinated coffee, which sells in supermarkets for about \$6.35 for a 13-ounce can. They could take it with half-and-half, artificial sweetener or sugar.

But eating was clearly not the point. "The only person I saw eat anything," said one guest, who spoke on condition that he not be identified, "was the President. He had two bagel halves."

Leftover pastries went back to the pantry; White House staff members could nibble them all day long.

Once the President was in the Map Room, each guest took an assigned seat around a rectangular table covered with a white cloth.

The donors were either across from Mr. Clinton or to his immediate left and right. Democratic National Committee officials were at either end of the table.

Ms. McCulloch said the Clinton Administration was the busiest she had worked for.

"There are events back to back," she said. "But they are the youngest Administration since the Kennedys, and they have a lot more energy."



White House Historical Association

Abraham Lincoln never slept here, but Steven Spielberg and David Geffen did, thanks to President Clinton's policy of inviting friends and patrons to spend a night at the White House. The Lincoln Bedroom was a study in Lincoln's time; the first reading of the Emancipation Proclamation, shown in a painting by Francis B. Carpenter, was held there. Bess Truman later moved in the rosewood bed — a purchase by Mary Todd Lincoln, above, that her husband said was a waste of money.



Illinois State Historical Library

The White House Effect

Entertaining With a Difference

Continued From Page 1

1908, when Gideon Willets wrote in "Inside History of the White House": "In the breast of the patriotic American the love of these three things is dominant: Love for the flag that protects him; love for the Chief Magistrate whose duty it is to keep that flag aloft; love for the building, the White House, that shelters the President of all the People."

Even so, there remains an aura about the White House, a thrill for first-time visitors that was marketable. State dinner guest lists have always included fat cats. More urgently, President Ford invited uncommitted delegates to the White House (and to the flight deck of the carrier Forrestal to watch the tall ships in New York Harbor for the Bicentennial) as he struggled to defeat Mr. Reagan for the 1976 nomination.

And all of the Clinton devices are basically systematized versions of the access that almost

To say it's either routine or all the President's fault seems foolish.

all fund-raisers admit they sell in exchange for contributions. If Mr. Bush and Mr. Reagan were less energetic, Republicans on Capitol Hill have never shirked. With the G.O.P. takeover of Congress in 1995, they attracted all the donors they could find who wanted the ear of the new cast of Congressional leaders and committee and subcommittee chairmen. There is not much difference between what the "President's Club" of the Johnson Administration or the Congressional Forum of the Republican House majority promised: access to movers and shakers.

The clumsiness measured in illegal foreign contributions or invitations to arms merchants or penny-stock smugglers may be the equivalent of the problems any company may face in a sudden expansion. With years of practice comparable to the G.O.P.'s, the Democrats could run a smoother operation.

And even if there is a touch of chutzpah in Mr. Clinton using his own mistakes as an argument for new campaign-finance legislation, it is hardly more far-fetched than the Senate Republicans who seem willing to abandon a juicy investigation of his sins because they fear it might lead to public outcry to do something about the soft money system they all live by.

Now there is no outcry. The public seems convinced that all politicians are for sale, or at least for rent, and the details bore people. The public seems to understand the basic truth of campaign finance:

The real scandal is not how the law is broken; the scandal is what's legal.

The coffee was \$3 a pound. The Democrats raised \$27 million.

overdrive because the guest lists were so small.

"It's a pain in the neck to do Danish for 18 people," said Franett McCulloch, who has worked as the assistant to Mr. Mesnier since 1983. "If I'm going to go to the trouble of mixing and folding and rolling I'd rather do it for 500 people."

She and Mr. Mesnier work in a kitchen so tiny that three people is a crowd. Day after day, as they filled tray after tray with freshly baked confections, they wondered why the White House schedulers were putting so many morning events on the calendar. It was not until a few weeks ago, when news of the gatherings was publicized, that they realized where the pastries had been going.

"We thought the coffees were for campaign brainstorming," Ms. McCulloch said. "One morning I walked in and said, 'You know, we were one of the last to know.'"

President Clinton has said that

The World

A New Struggle For Jerusalem

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

AFTER announcing the decision to build a large new Jewish neighborhood in the barren hills of southeastern Jerusalem, the Prime Minister of Israel, Benjamin Netanyahu, and his lieutenants launched an intensive public-relations campaign to portray the action as a response to the housing needs of all Jerusalemites, Jews and Arabs — and even as a symbol of "peaceful coexistence and harmony" in the Holy City.

It might have played well abroad if every-

one else hadn't been talking of the area, Har Homa, in distinctly nonpeaceful terms.

"Construction of a Jewish neighborhood on Jabal Abu Ghunaym will be a form of declaration of war on Israel's part," warned Feisal Hussein, the chief Palestinian representative in Jerusalem, referring to the Arabic name for the site.

"On this subject, it is forbidden for us to show any sign of weakness," declared Israel's Industry and Trade Minister, Natan Sharansky. The Israeli Police Minister, Avigdor Kahalani, proclaimed, "The struggle for Jerusalem has begun."

To be fair, Mr. Netanyahu might have been using the notion of peaceful coexistence in the sense that Jerusalem's Biblical masters might have meant it when they encircled the ancient city with massive ramparts — us peacefully inside, them peacefully outside. Because in the minds of the Israelis who demanded the neighborhood's construction, that was the real purpose: to complete a ring of Jewish neighborhoods around East Jerusalem that would cement the city as the "eternal and undivided" capital of Israel.

Har Homa, in a vacant stretch of hills between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, is a major gap in the southern part of the ring. Once completed, it will join with the adjacent neighborhoods of Gilo, East Talpiot and Givat Hamatos to create a buffer of 120,000 Jewish residents in southeastern Jerusalem, foreclosing the chance of any linkage between the nearby Arab towns and Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem.

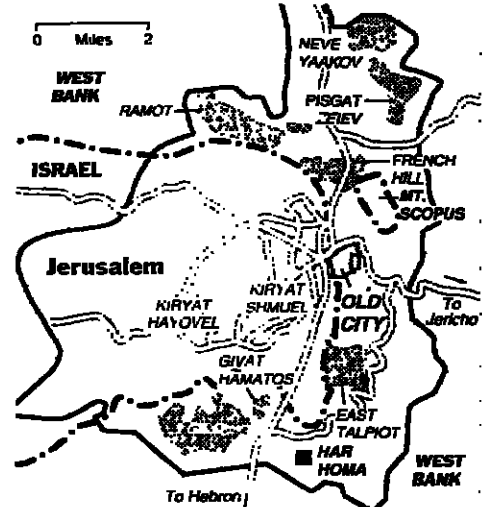
The basic strategy is hardly new. Within three weeks of conquering East Jerusalem in the 1967 war, Israel greatly expanded Jerusalem's boundaries. The man who shaped the city's development for the next 27 years, Mayor Teddy Kollek, spoke of "separate development and peaceful coexistence" while he aggressively expanded into Arab areas by building Jewish neighborhoods on expropriated land. "The supreme principle in the planning of Jerusalem is to secure its unity," declared a master plan adopted under Mr. Kollek in 1978.

But if the strategy is familiar, the context is new. In the first decades after 1967, the Jewish expansion essentially consolidated a



Jerusalem's Mayor, Ehud Olmert, shows reporters the Har Homa area, where Israel has decided to start building housing for Jews.

- Jerusalem city boundary
- Former cease-fire line (Green Line). Was Israel-Jordan border from 1949 to 1967
- ┌ Mostly Arab area
- └ Mostly Jewish area
- ☒ Jewish suburbs built since 1967 beyond the former cease-fire line



Source: "Jerusalem in the Twentieth Century," by Martin Gilbert, John Wiley & Sons, 1996

The New York Times

military victory. But the peace declared in 1993 established that further division of territory would occur only through negotiation. Jerusalem, the toughest issue of all, was left to the "final status" talks that are supposed to end by May 1999.

Mr. Netanyahu's Government insists that the 1993 agreements do not explicitly restrict Israeli construction in areas under Israel's jurisdiction. But there is little question that building the first 2,500 of a planned 6,500 housing units in Har Homa violates the spirit of the agreement, creating "facts on the ground" in advance of talks. Once built, there is virtually no chance the neighborhood will be offered as a bargaining chip.

Essentials

That is important, because a study on how Israeli Jews view Jerusalem, conducted jointly by the University of Maryland and the Gutman Institute of Applied Social Studies in Jerusalem, found that only a small percentage of Israelis view the boundaries of Jerusalem as sacrosanct, and that 45 percent are prepared to transfer outlying areas of the city to Palestinian sovereignty. "But once a

housing project is built and Jewish families move in, the overwhelming majority of Israelis regard it as an essential part of Jerusalem and outside the realm of negotiations," said Jerome M. Segal of the University of Maryland.

It was this imperative that prompted a powerful group of Mr. Netanyahu's conservative colleagues to lean on the Prime Minister to prove his commitment to Jerusalem by building Har Homa, and to threaten to bring down the Government if he failed. With new territorial concessions to the Palestinians looming, Mr. Netanyahu told Americans and Palestinians privately that he had to "fill his right-wing tank" on Har Homa if he was to keep on the peace route.

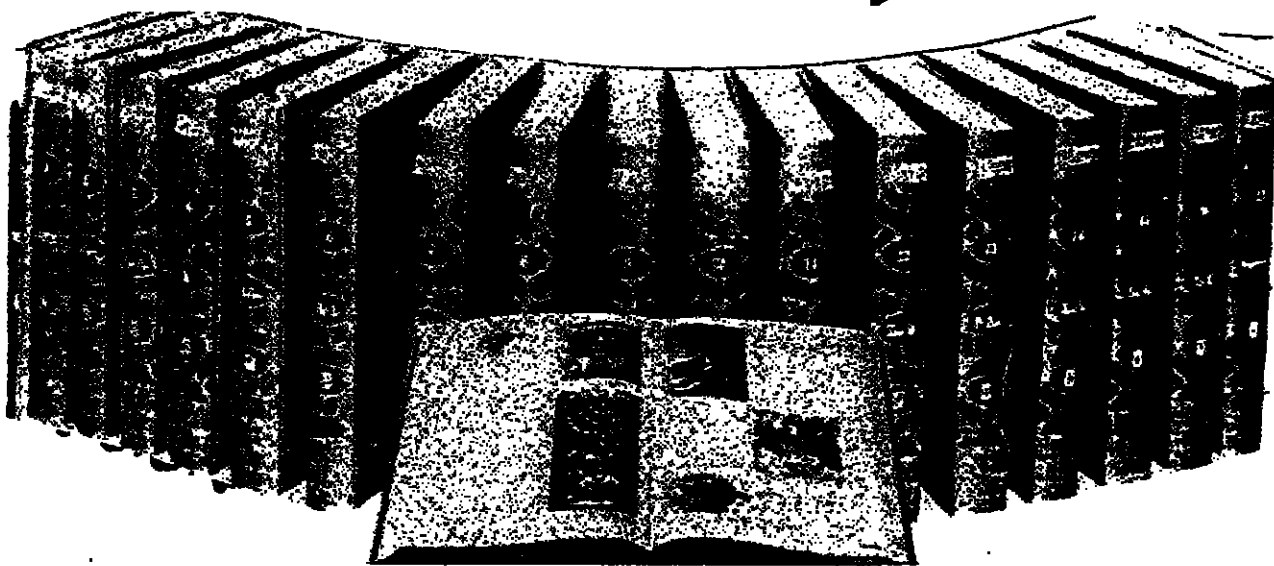
The battle for Jerusalem has always been a battle that Israel has waged alone, since even the United States has not recognized the city as Israel's capital, and most Western governments cling to an old notion of "internationalizing" Jerusalem and its holy sites. The idea derives from the notion that the competition for Jerusalem is rooted in the competing claims of three major faiths, Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Indeed, it is the holy sites that have shaped

Jerusalem and have been responsible for copious volumes of blood shed there over the ages, most recently in violence last fall over the extension of an archaeological tunnel along the Temple Mount.

Yet the irony of the current struggle is that the religious sites may actually be the least contentious of the issues facing Israelis and Palestinians. Since 1967, Israel has maintained a status quo in which each major faith administers its holy sites with a minimum of interference, and all Israeli Governments have pledged to keep the balance intact in the future. The problem now is that what the Jews call "Yerushalaim" and the Palestinians call "Al Quds" has become a symbol of national struggle and pride.

That promises a tough and bitter struggle, but at least it leaves the definition of Jerusalem a bit more flexible. If the Israelis settle Har Homa and proclaim it part of Yerushalaim, there is no reason why sometime in the future the Palestinians will not be able to designate some outlying villages as Al Quds. That, indeed, is an idea Mr. Kollek proposed; moderate politicians on both the Israeli and Palestinian sides still talk about it as a formula that one day could bring peace.

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Send in The Clones

Continued From Page 1

random and then left to their own devices. After birth, experience makes and breaks connections, pruning the thicket into precise circuitry. From the very beginning, what's in the genes is different from what's in the brain. And the gulf continues to widen as the brain matures.

The genes still exert their influence — some of the brain's circuitry is hardwired from the start and immutable. People don't have to learn to want food or sex. But as the new connections form, the mind floating higher and higher above the genetic machinery like a helium balloon, people learn to circumvent the baser instincts in individual ways.

Even genetically identical twins, natural clones, are born with different neural tangles. Subtle variations in the way the connections were originally slapped together might make one twin particularly fascinated by twinkling lights, the other drawn to certain patterns of sounds.

Even if the twins were kept in the same

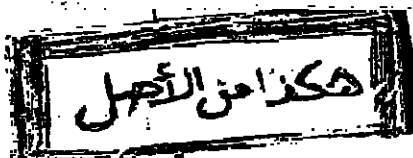
Even genetically identical twins, natural clones, are born with different neural tangles, different predilections.

room for days, these natural predilections would drive them each in different directions. Experience, pouring in through the senses, would cause unique circuitry to form. Once the twins left the room, the differences between them would increase. Send one twin around the block clockwise and the other counterclockwise and they would return with more divergent brains. For artificial clones the variations would accumulate even faster, for they would be born years apart, into different worlds.

Photography is only skin deep. Cloning is only gene deep. But what about the ultimate cloning — copying synapse by synapse a human brain?

If such a technological feat were ever possible, for one brief instant we might have two identical minds. But then suppose neuron No. 20478288 were to fire randomly in brain 1 and not in brain 2. The tiny spasm would set off a cascade that reshaped some circuitry, and there would be two individuals again.

We each carry in our heads complexity beyond imagining and beyond duplication. Even a hard-core materialist might agree that, in that sense, everyone has a soul.



ECONOMY

Are You Worth More, But Enjoying Your Money Less?

After years of market riches, conspicuous conservatism.

By JONATHAN FUERBRINGER

YOU jumped into the market well before the Dow hit the once unthinkable level of 4,000. You kept making monthly contributions to your retirement account. You even placed some side bets with nonretirement money, as you watched — first with glee, then in shock, now in awe — the Dow soar, clicking off 1,000-point gains almost as fast as a car zipping past highway markers. Oh, yes, those stock options you snickered at a few years ago are now worth a small bundle, too.

You may not be rich, but you are certainly starting to feel wealthier. So surely you're now driving a flashy new car to your new drop-dead second home, aren't you?

Not if you are Scott Meyer, a 36-year-old sales representative for Cadence, Design Systems in Tempe, Ariz. He has six figures worth of stock just in his "money to acquire things" account. It is jammed full of high-flying high-technology stocks — from Compaq Computer to Intel. Is Mr. Meyer feeling richer? "Absolutely," he says.

But he doesn't have a new car or vacation home to show for it. "I used the money to get our family out of

debt — mortgage and everything," he said of the gains he harvested from the account over the last couple of years.

Mr. Meyer is one of the millions of affluent Americans who are confounding economists and economic policy makers alike: instead of spending even a modest chunk of their new-found wealth from the stock market, they appear to be holding back. And that is sending the experts to their models of consumer behavior to rewrite the equations for the so-called wealth effect, the theory that consumers will spend more simply because the value of their financial assets has risen.

"In our forecast for 1997 we are marking down the wealth effect in our model," said Joel Prakken, a prominent proponent of the theory and the chairman of Macroeconomic Advisers in St. Louis. "Our confidence in it has been modestly undermined."

Federal Reserve policy makers are also worried. While the increased spending from the stock market rally has been less than forecast, that pattern could change, as the Federal Reserve chairman, Alan Greenspan, noted when he testified before Congress last week.

"The unusual uncertainties in the overall outlook," Mr. Greenspan said, "are especially focused on the behavior of consumers," whose spending equals two-thirds of the nation's output. And that seemed only to add to Mr. Greenspan's concern that the stock market gains of the last two years or so are making it more difficult for the Fed to maintain a balanced economic environment.

The stock market surge since 1994 has added nearly \$3 trillion dollars, or 50 percent, to the total of household financial assets in the United States. And the amount is continuing to rise.

The current total is equal to more than a third of the nation's output of goods and services last year. According to most studies, Americans would traditionally be expected to spend 3 percent to 5 percent of that new wealth, or \$60 billion to \$150 billion over several years, on longer vacations, bigger cars, second houses, yachts — or just more frequent visits to restaurants or the theater.

In an economy with an annual output of more than \$7.5 trillion, that may not seem like all that much. But \$60 billion, if spent over two or three years, should provide a greater boost for the economy than the new spending that would be generated by the \$96 billion tax cut over five years that President Clinton has proposed in his new budget. And \$150 billion would be a stronger stimulant than the five-year, \$193 billion tax cut that Congressional Republicans are pushing.

But economists who believe in the wealth effect are concluding that there has been a lot less bang for the buck than they had expected.

"People are not spending as much as the wealth effect would imply," Mr. Prakken concedes.

Indeed, Mr. Greenspan, in his Congressional testimony last week, noted that most economic models had predicted that the stock market's climb would have "a larger positive influence on consumer spending than seems to have actually occurred."

prepare for retirement, a drive that seems heightened by their growing fear that Social Security benefits will be much stingier for them.

Debt burdens may also be getting in the way of spending. For many middle-class Americans, a rise in debt may have offset the wealth effect from gains in their portfolios. At the same time, wealthier Americans may have restrained their spending while paying off their debt.

Baby boomers — and other investors — are also worrying about losing jobs, and many would rather spend less than risk being out of the market for a split second and missing another market rally. All this means conserving rather than spending.

"Now is not the time to spend the money; now is the time to grow the money," said Mike Mazza, 39, a creative director at Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising Worldwide in San Francisco. "I am not going to run out and

that they cannot borrow more and sometimes even have to rein in spending to meet interest payments. The median debt burden rose 5.6 percent from 1992 to 1995 for families with incomes of \$25,000 to \$49,999, according to the Federal Reserve.

Economists also say many Americans may not be feeling so wealthy because a growing portion of their stocks are held in 401(k) accounts and other retirement plans. Many consumers see this money as a nest egg that may still be too small.

Of the nearly \$3 trillion increase in the value of stocks held by households from the end of 1994 through the third quarter of last year, about 40 percent was in retirement or other indirectly held accounts. The number of households with retirement accounts jumped to 43 percent in 1995, from 37.9 percent in 1992, while the percentage of households,

the stock market crash of 1987, when the Dow plunged 508 points, or 22.6 percent, on Oct. 19, a fall that sharply reduced the value of the stocks owned directly or indirectly by households.

Economic models predicted a steep decline in spending because of a negative wealth effect from the crash. But when the economy avoided the recession that many analysts had predicted, the wealth effect did not look so potent.

Since 1987, however, the makeup of the market has changed markedly, so even that relatively recent experience is probably not a reliable guide.

The Survey of Consumer Finances shows that stocks jumped to 40.4 percent of the average family's assets in 1995, from 34.4 percent in 1992 and 26.3 percent in 1989. For households with incomes of \$100,000 or more, that share has jumped to 47.6 percent, from 31.4 percent in 1989.

This greater dependence on stocks has prompted some economists to think more about the reverse wealth effect, wondering if consumer spending might really take a sharp hit if the stock market plunges again.

Another change in recent years is in the level of consumer confidence, which hit an eight-year high in January, according to the Conference Board, and is well above its level when the current leg of this bull market began, at the end of 1994.

Even among those who see the wealth effect as genuine, there is a wide range of opinion over how it affects the economy. John Lipsky, the chief economist at the Chase Manhattan Bank, summed up the "consensus" this way: "There is no argument. The wealth effect does have an impact on consumption. The argument is over the impact."

Mr. Lipsky noted that the financial net worth of households rose nearly 16 percent in 1995, with the increased wealth from rising stock prices and other assets outweighing the increase in consumer debt. And that trend continued last year.

"The magnitude of the improvement in household net worth was so striking," Mr. Lipsky said, "that it had to have an impact on consumption."

But experts in this camp acknowledge the longer lag between increased stock-related wealth and spending than is seen with other financial assets, like a house, that grow in value.

"In the stock market," Mr. Prakken said, "there is some evidence that there is a longer delay because people understand that what goes up may come down."

While sticking with the wealth-effect concept, Mr. Prakken is scaling back quite a bit on the impact. "I am tending toward 3 cents instead of 5 cents," he said, referring to the spending from a dollar of increased wealth.

Lawrence B. Lindsey, a former governor of the Federal Reserve, is among the economists who thinks Mr. Prakken should be scaling back even further, perhaps to near zero. Mr. Lindsey, who is now at the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative research organization in Washington, argued that stock ownership outside of 401(k) plans is very concentrated among the rich, who own nearly three-quarters of all such equities. And they are less affected by increases in wealth.

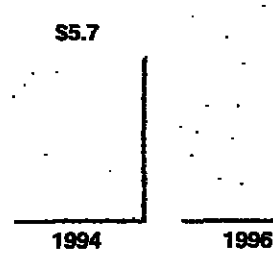
"If you have \$100 million and it goes to \$110 million, will you spend more?" Mr. Lindsey asked. "I don't think so."

As proof, he said he had not seen the spending one would expect from the traditional calculation of the wealth effect. The wealthy, he said, "would have had to have bought two additional cars each year."

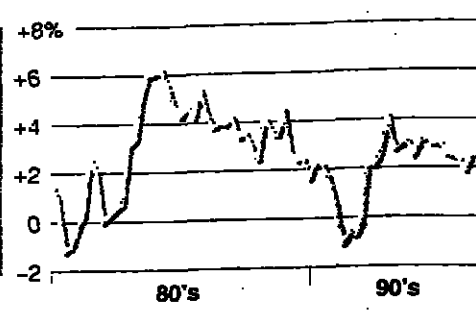
Mr. Lindsey said wealth derived from the stock market casino was less powerful than that generated from real estate and individual entrepreneurship. There is real wealth and "lottery wealth," he said, and people tend to "consume out of real wealth, not lottery wealth." Investors also may be deterred from spending because they discount their new wealth for the taxes they will have to pay.

All That Wealth Hasn't Started a Spending Spree

Value of stocks owned directly and indirectly by American households, in trillions.

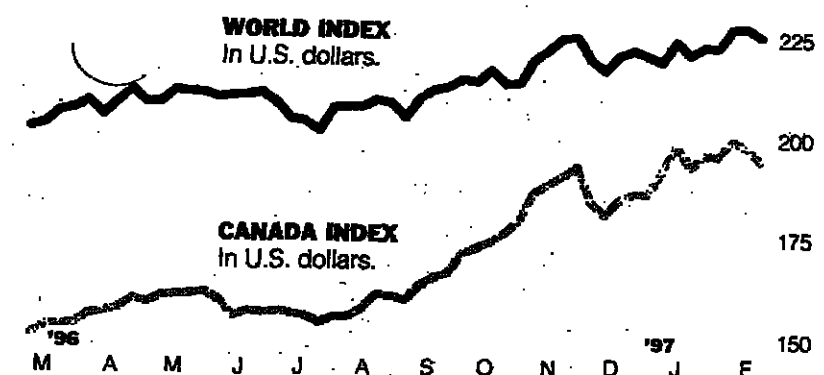


The annualized rate of change in personal consumption expenditures shown quarterly from 1980 through 1996.



Sources: Deutsche Morgan Grenfell; Federal Reserve; The New York Times

WORLD STOCK MARKETS



Prepared by Goldman, Sachs & Co. using data derived from the Financial Times/Standard & Poor's Actuaries World Indices, a measure of stock market performance. The FT Indices are compiled jointly by The Financial Times Limited, Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's, in conjunction with the Institute of Actuaries and Faculty of Actuaries.

PERFORMANCE IN U.S. DOLLARS IN LOCAL CURR.

Country	Index	% Chg.	Week	YTD	YTD	Dividend	Index	% Chg.	YTD
			Rank	Rank	Rank	Yield			Yield
Australia	218.66	-1.5	18	-1.5	22	4.05	187.38	0.8	
Austria	184.92	0.9	5	-2.6	23	1.80	182.23	6.7	
Belgium	235.38	2.0	2	3.4	10	3.23	202.15	13.3	
Brazil	232.74	0.3	9	22.7	1	1.35	450.26	24.1	
Britain	281.80	0.3	10	-0.5	21	3.79	256.06	4.4	
Canada	197.52	-1.7	19	4.0	8	1.89	195.50	3.8	
Denmark	361.44	-3.6	24	2.7	15	1.38	316.80	12.1	
Finland	259.02	0.3	8	5.4	7	1.94	273.69	15.2	
France	219.83	1.5	4	2.7	14	2.57	196.46	12.5	
Germany	195.72	1.9	3	3.0	12	1.51	171.78	12.8	
Hong Kong	489.47	-0.5	14	-3.5	24	3.20	486.64	-3.4	
Indonesia	251.49	2.6	1	10.2	4	1.44	369.89	11.8	
Ireland	338.53	0.4	7	2.9	13	3.12	301.23	10.0	
Italy	84.44	-6.9	28	1.1	20	1.99	106.58	12.4	
Japan	117.37	-0.9	15	-9.1	27	0.88	89.54	-5.4	
Malaysia	654.83	-0.1	12	8.6	5	1.01	626.21	6.7	
Mexico	1,367.95	-4.0	25	12.1	3	0.82	11,920.31	13.5	
Netherlands	343.81	-0.1	11	2.3	16	2.53	297.96	12.3	
New Zealand	86.05	-2.0	22	-6.2	26	4.28	66.05	-4.2	
Norway	304.63	-5.2	27	3.1	11	2.15	278.62	8.8	
Philippines	206.45	-0.8	6	1.4	18	0.63	270.91	1.5	
Singapore	424.68	-2.9	23	1.2	19	0.99	279.08	3.1	
South Africa	360.80	-0.2	13	13.3	2	2.37	353.41	8.6	
Spain	207.83	-1.8	21	-5.4	25	2.79	225.70	4.2	
Sweden	429.45	-1.1	16	1.8	17	2.15	476.69	11.8	
Switzerland	246.68	-1.7	20	3.4	9	1.32	225.57	13.6	
Thailand	82.19	-4.9	26	-14.2	28	4.11	82.80	-13.4	
United States	321.26	-1.4	17	6.4	6	1.87	321.26	6.4	

COMPOSITE INDICES

Region	Index	% Chg.	Week	YTD	YTD	Dividend	Index	% Chg.	YTD
			Rank	Rank	Rank	Yield			Yield
Europe	242.46	-0.1		1.2	2.70	223.23	9.2		
Pacific Basin	138.52	-0.9		-6.8	1.37	105.15	-4.0		
Europe/Pacific	181.81	-0.5		-2.5	2.11	149.75	3.0		
World	228.63	-0.9		2.0	1.98	203.38	4.8		

Source: Goldman, Sachs & Co. Exchange rates as of Friday's London close. © 1996 The Financial Times Ltd., Goldman, Sachs & Co. and Standard & Poor's.

CURRENCIES

Exchange rate	Friday	Last Friday	Week % Chg.	Year Ago
Japanese yen to the U.S. dollar	120.22	123.28	-2.48	105.28
German marks to the U.S. dollar	1.6903	1.6987	+0.09	1.4755
Canadian dollars to the U.S. dollar	1.3677	1.3639	+0.27	1.3700
U.S. dollars to the British pound	1.6295	1.6172	+0.76	1.5285

Source: Bloomberg Financial Markets; exchange rates as of Friday's New York close.

Other economists see new ammunition for the argument that there never has been much of a wealth effect.

Income is the biggest driver of consumer spending. People who take home more pay tend to spend most of it. But many economists say an increase in a person's wealth from a rise in the value of a home, a surge in the stock market or an increase in the value of a small business should prompt additional spending, even if the gains are still on paper.

The spending of such gains, however, is not immediate, because it takes time for the investor to decide how permanent the gains may be. There can be a lag of several years, especially if the increase is from the stock market. And the extra spending usually comes from reducing contributions to savings rather than from cashing in any of the new wealth.

The portion eventually spent — the wealth effect — is not large, because people generally view their new wealth as something to be used over a lifetime. But a lot of economists have argued that the impact should not be dismissed. It could mean the difference between an economic slump and just slow growth. Or it could provide just enough kick to the economy to cause the Federal Reserve to push up short-term interest rates to ward off inflation.

Some economists point to the wealth effect to explain the surprising spurt in spending in the second quarter last year. That spurt (which lasted only briefly) put Wall Street on alert for a Fed tightening of interest rates (which did not occur). Others tie the wealth effect to the surge in the purchase of luxury goods throughout 1996, a year after the Dow Jones industrial average jumped 33.5 percent while the broader Standard & Poor's index of 500 stocks rose 34.1 percent.

And the flurry of sales of Ferrari Mondials, Lamborghini Diablos and million-dollar condominiums and cooperatives has signaled the more intense wealth effect felt in the nation's financial capital, New York City. But a lot of that extra spending in the New York area may have less to do with the wealth effect than with the big bonuses that Wall Street executives have taken home in the last couple of years.

So why is the wealth effect turning out to be such a poor predictor of human behavior?

A principal factor is the same force that has powered the stupendous rise in the stock market: the desire of millions of baby boomers to

buy a boat because the stock market is up."

Mr. Mazza, married and the father of a son, Marco, who is almost 2 years old, is "maxing out" in his contributions to his retirement program and buying stocks and mutual funds on his own and through a broker.

But despite a 30 percent rise in the value of his portfolio over the last two years, he says he is actually spending less, and for two reasons.

First, he thinks the stock market is due for a correction and then a decline in its rate of growth.

"At some point, we won't get the returns we have had for the past few years," he said. Recently, he stopped buying as many stocks as he did in the past and has been building up a little cash, which he hopes to use to buy more stocks if the market falls.

Second, he wants a strong-enough financial base so he can be flexible about his career; he is not sure how long he will be able to parlay his talent into a well-paying job. "I don't see that many people practicing on the creative side through their 60's," Mr. Mazza said.

Mr. Meyer of Cadence Design Systems, which makes software and provides services for electronic design, said job security was another reason for saving over spending. Many people in the high-technology industry, he said, "have felt a lot of the effects of downsizing and because of that they do not want to put their families at risk."

While he has never been laid off, he wants to be ready. Conserving rather than spending his new wealth, he said, gives him "the saving power to regroup the family."

In paying off his mortgage and other debt, Mr. Meyer reflects a recent trend among a number of wealthier Americans. And money used to pay off debt is money that is not available to buy things.

Between 1992 and 1995, the median debt burden of households with incomes over \$100,000 dropped 21.6 percent, according to the Federal Reserve Board's new Survey of Consumer Finances.

But among less affluent families, some of whom may even have borrowed to buy stocks, a different mechanism seems to be at work. As Mr. Greenspan noted last week, many middle-income Americans have built up such substantial debts

owning stocks directly or in mutual funds that remained at 27.3 percent.

Even some economists who trumpet the wealth effect — and have seen their own fortunes rise — have trouble pointing to significantly increased spending on their own part.

N. Gregory Mankiw, a professor of economics at Harvard University who is writing a new introductory textbook, said the rally in the stock market "increases my sense of financial security and increases the chances that I would go to the \$45 restaurant."

"But to be honest," he added, "I am finishing up this book now and I am not spending anything."

Assessing the wealth effect will be most critical for the Federal Reserve, which many economists expect to raise short-term interest rates this year in an effort to slow economic growth and curb inflation.

"The wealth effect is something that has to be considered," said William J. McDonough, the president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and a permanent member of the Fed's policy-making committee. "A positive wealth effect does lead to stronger economic growth."

And in his remarks in December about "irrational exuberance" in the stock market, as well as in his testimony last week, Mr. Greenspan made clear his concern about the impact of stock prices and the wealth effect on the economy.

But Fed officials say that although the wealth effect does matter, it probably does not matter as much as many economists once thought.

Laurence H. Meyer, one of the two newest Fed governors, has been a longtime believer in the wealth effect, honing his views at the company now known as Macroeconomic Advisers.

But Mr. Meyer says that witnessing a discussion between his son, Ken, and daughter-in-law, Kathy, gave him a new insight into the relationship between wealth and spending. His son, a management consultant, had received a pay raise and he and his wife were disagreeing over how to use it.

"She wanted a couch, and he wanted a mutual fund," Mr. Meyer said. "My son won the fight."

The wealth effect has been dismissed by many economists since

Feb. 24-28: After a Greenspan Warning, the Dow Ends the Week 53 Points Lower

PRICES

DOMESTIC EQUITIES

Broad market S. & P. 500 index	Down 1.36%	790.82
Blue chips Dow 30 industrials	Down 0.78%	6,877.84
Small capitalization Russell 2000 index	Down 1.73%	360.05

DOMESTIC BONDS

Treasuries	Down 0.98%	194.58
Municipals	Down 1.42%	116.69
Corporate	Down 0.95%	850.91
Merrill Lynch Master index		

AROUND THE WORLD

European stocks F.T.-Actuaries Europe	Down 0.12%	242.46
Asian stocks F.T.-Actuaries Pacific Basin	Down 0.90%	138.52
Gold	Up 3.11%	\$365.10
New York cash price		

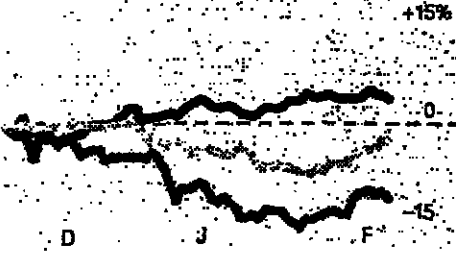
YIELDS

BONDS

Long bonds	6.80%
30-year Treasuries	Up 18 basis pts.
Notes	6.08%
2-year Treasuries	Up 26 basis pts.
Municipals	5.76%
Bond Buyer index	Up 8 basis pts.

OTHER INVESTMENTS

Money market funds	4.80%
Taxable average	Down 1 basis pt.
Bank C.D.'s	5.05%
1-year small savers	Down 1 basis pt.
Stocks	1.91%
S. & P. 500 dividend yield	Up 3 b.p.



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Don't Sabotage the Hearings

Only in Washington could public shock and amazement over the White House's bed-and-breakfast operation last year be used as an excuse to cripple the reform process. But this possibility looms because of the quiet maneuvering last week of both Trent Lott and Tom Daschle, the Republican and Democratic leaders in the Senate. Mr. Lott has suggested that the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate President Clinton's fund-raising would obviate the need for the hearings planned by Senator Fred Thompson. Mr. Daschle is using Senator John Glenn as a cat's-paw to limit the budget and timetable of those hearings. Meanwhile, neither side is giving the push needed to keep campaign finance legislation moving in the Senate.

The most immediate threat comes from partisan sniping by both Republicans and Democrats against the plans for a full hearing of campaign fund-raising practices in Senator Thompson's Governmental Affairs Committee. The Democrats are engaged in tactics that could kill the hearings. Senator Glenn has demanded an unacceptably low budget and shortened timetable. He talks about an "exit strategy" to end the embarrassment before the next election season gets under way.

Mr. Thompson has lowered his proposal to \$5.7 million, but he argues persuasively that he needs money and time to investigate activities in the United States and abroad. There may be room for further compromise, but Mr. Glenn must abandon his demand of only \$1.8 million, or he will write an ignoble end to a Senate career founded on an image of heroism. He should join with Mr. Thompson to insure that the hearings are fair.

As an incentive to the Democrats, Mr. Thompson agreed to broaden the scope of his investigation to include the practices of Congressional Republicans. But that has only infuriated his Repub-

lican colleagues, especially Senators Mitch McConnell of Kentucky and Rick Santorum of Pennsylvania, who suggested they might use their posts on the Rules Committee to keep a vote on the hearings from coming to the floor. They clearly would rather kill off the hearings than have them poke around in Republican House and Senate practices. They know that many of the abuses by Mr. Clinton and the Democratic National Committee could be found among the Republicans. Mr. Lott needs to save the hearings by getting them to back off, or by bypassing the Rules Committee to get the hearings approved on the Senate floor.

Mr. Daschle, who should be pressing Mr. Glenn to cooperate on the hearings, was instead busy raising another potential roadblock. He announced that he would refuse to vote to finance the hearings until Mr. Lott guaranteed that there would be a vote on the McCain-Feingold campaign reform legislation to ban unlimited "soft money" gifts to campaigns or party organizations. Mr. Daschle's objective may be sound, since Republican filibusters have killed campaign reform in the Senate before. But it is wrong and devious to set up an all-or-nothing linkage between the hearings and the bill.

The situation in the Senate right now is that most Republicans want hearings, as long as they don't embarrass Republicans — and as long as they don't lead to reform. Most Democrats will be happy if the hearings never occur, and the Democratic commitment to campaign reform is not as strong as it should be. The public interest demands action on both issues. Senators Lott and Daschle should join this week to get Mr. Thompson's hearings approved with the broadest scope, budget and timetable. Then they owe it to a public weary and cynical about campaign scandals to move the McCain-Feingold legislation on soft money toward a vote.

The PCB War Heats Up

The ecological recovery of the Hudson River is by now a well-documented success story. What was little more than a 350-mile-long sewer stretching from the Adirondacks to Manhattan's Battery has been transformed over 30 years into a river pulsing with life.

There remains, however, one huge blot on this otherwise happy history — the polychlorinated biphenyls, or PCB's, that were discharged into the upper Hudson from two General Electric manufacturing plants in Fort Edward and Hudson Falls and that now lie on the river bottom. The compounds were banned 20 years ago, but enough escaped into the river to pose a potential cancer risk to humans who eat fish caught in the upper Hudson.

Under the Federal Superfund law, G.E. must clean the river of PCB's or find some way to neutralize them. The company has never denied its legal responsibility, but for two decades it has wrestled with state and Federal agencies over scientific questions involving the toxicity of the chemicals and the practical question of how best to purge the river. This struggle has now reached a new and more intense phase with the release last week of a report from the Federal Environmental Protection Agency, which has the authority to tell G.E. what to do. The report makes two key points, neither of them comforting to G.E.

The first point is that despite G.E.'s expensive and largely successful efforts to stop new leaks, there are still heavy concentrations of PCB's at the bottom of a huge "hot spot" called the Thompson Island Pool, a six-mile stretch of the river downstream from the plants. This stretch, the agency says, is the main source of PCB's in the freshwater Hudson. When sediments are churned up by natural forces, the PCB's move over a much wider area.

The agency's second point is that the compounds have not biodegraded to any meaningful extent. For years, G.E. has argued that the natural process of dechlorination would eventually detoxify the PCB's, an argument that did much to persuade the E.P.A. to take no action when it first examined the situation in 1984. The agency now says dechlorination has caused only minimal shrinkage in the total mass of PCB's.

The report makes no attempt to quantify the risks to humans and the environment. Nor does it recommend a course of action. Both questions will be addressed in later studies. But while the E.P.A. has yet to decide whether it is feasible to remove the PCB's, G.E. may conceivably be required to dredge — an expensive outcome the company has deployed a small army of scientists and lawyers to avoid.

G.E. counterattacked the day the report appeared. It accused the agency of shoddy science and other sins, but focused most of its energy on the agency's findings about the sediments in the Thompson Island Pool. G.E. does not deny that there are plenty of PCB's in the river below the pool. But it argues that the PCB's originate not in the sediments, which it says are essentially stationary, but from fresh inflows from the area near the two G.E. plants above the pool. If true, this would dictate a strategy of "tightening the spigot" at or near those plants — a much cheaper alternative than dredging.

The E.P.A. regards this theory as improbable. Environmental groups, most vocally Scenic Hudson, see it as another smokescreen for G.E.'s endlessly resourceful environmental team. But wherever the truth lies, it is clear that the Federal Government is conducting a far more careful investigation of a potentially grave environmental problem than it did during the Reagan years. It is also clear that it has turned up the heat on G.E.

Twilight for TV's Old Troopers

The recent death of Don Porter, who played Ann Southern's boss in the 1950's situation comedy "Private Secretary," is a reminder that the first generation of TV situation comedy performers is vanishing fast. Marjorie Reynolds, who was William Bendix's wife in "The Life of Riley" died in February, too. Jesse White, another Ann Southern veteran, died in January, as did Sheldon Leonard, a TV producer who is probably better remembered by viewers of a certain age as Danny Thomas's manager on "Make Room for Daddy."

Most of the people who played the bosses, best friends, the moms and dads of early sitcoms were already seasoned stage or movie actresses when they arrived on the small screen. It was remarkable how much better they were than their material, and with what impeccable timing they delivered lines like "Suzie, you've got to learn to mind your own business!"

What they did was not necessarily art, but their names — or more helpfully, their pictures — call up a nostalgia for black-and-white TV sets with rabbit ears and bad reception: Don DeFore, Hugh Beaumont, ZaSu Pitts, Lyle Talbot, Charlie Farrell, Gale Gordon, Nancy Kulp, Gene Donovan, Harry Von Zell. All of them are gone now, but not generally nipped in the bud. Some, like Mr. Farrell and Miss Pitts, had their biggest triumphs on the silent screen. Harry Von Zell was once famous as the announcer who referred to the 31st President of the United States as "Hoobert Heever."

Most never became big stars, even on the small screen. But they proved so professional and so adaptable that they were able to keep working despite the short life of most series. Hopping from one program to another like Little Eva on the ice floes, they mutated into the bosses, moms, dads and neighbors of the 1960's and 70's. Mr. Porter re-emerged as Sally Field's father in "Gidget," and Mr. White achieved perhaps the most permanent grip of all on TV's peculiar can't-place-the-face stardom as the lonely repairman on a generation of Maytag commercials. Miss Kulp, who died in 1991, entered TV as the receptionist on "Love That Bob," and went on to true immortality as a secretary on "The Beverly Hillbillies."

The Golden Age of Television was not the golden age of situation comedy, except for a few radio stars who more or less successfully transplanted their old routines into the new medium. People like Mr. Porter and Miss Reynolds cheerfully soldiered on through a world where women lust after expensive hats, men dreamed up crazy get-rich schemes and bosses always arrived for dinner on the day the oven broke. To hear William Bendix bleat "Peeceeg" at Miss Reynolds, or Mr. Porter plead "Let's see if we can get a little work done around here for a change," is to re-enter an imaginary time when living rooms were dotted with huge but surgically clean ash trays, moms cooked dinner with their pearls on and next-door neighbors were your best friends.

Cloning May Reveal Deep Behavioral Secrets

To the Editor:

Your coverage of mammalian cloning, starting with "Scientist Reports First Cloning Ever of Adult Mammal" (front page, Feb. 23), overlooks an important implication of the work. Mammalian cloning will soon permit us to examine the relative roles of genetic and environmental factors in determining an animal's behavior.

The procedure would be straightforward: Clone thousands of animals, control for intrauterine environment and then raise groups of the genetically identical animals in disparate environments.

Aspects of behavior that are different between groups would reflect a strong environmental influence; similarities between groups would reflect genetically determined behaviors.

Studies of identical twins have already given us clues that what we think of as "random," or freely made choices may not be so random or freely made.

Thus one rather disturbing ramification of mammalian cloning is that it may provide a method to measure the limits on our free will, independent of whether one believes this free will to be divinely given or not.

MITRA HARTMANN
Pasadena, Calif., Feb. 26, 1997

a couple to clone a dying child is disquieting.

That Mr. Robertson holds such an opinion is not surprising: he has championed the concept of reproductive freedom and a laissez-faire attitude toward reproductive medicine. But does anyone honestly believe that replacing a dead child with a genetically identical clone could assuage parents' grief?

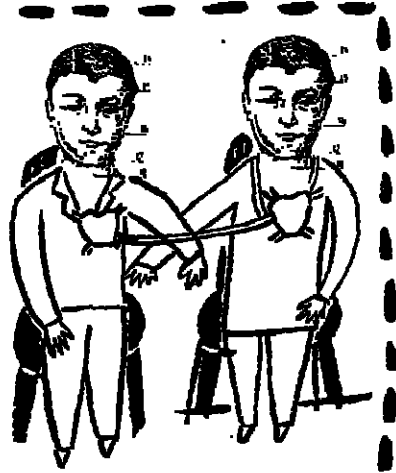
To the Editor:

If a compelling case can be made against cloning human beings, Daniel Callahan (Op-Ed, Feb. 26) hasn't made it. Mr. Callahan posits an absolute individualistic right of his own creation: a "right to a unique identity."

On the source and meaning of such a right not to be cloned, Mr. Callahan is silent. But in light of his admission that we are more than our genes, an individual's right to protect his or her identity is as unintelligible for all human beings as it is unenforceable for genetically identical twins.

There are tenable arguments for prohibiting the cloning of humans; eugenics and the superfluity of males are two risks that come to mind. But no one has, or could hope to claim, a right to be unique in the universe.

STEVEN MAZIE
Ann Arbor, Mich., Feb. 26, 1997



Santiago Cohen

The fatuousness of this and other similar "acceptable" uses for cloning merely points out the lengths to which some scientists and science apologists will go to justify what is really just a desire to tinker, to fiddle around and then claim that a technology developed out of that desire satisfies some pressing human or societal need.

GINA MARANTO
Miami Beach, Feb. 26, 1997

To the Editor:

Re your Feb. 24 front-page article on sheep cloning:
The statement by the University of Texas law scholar John Robertson that it might not be reprehensible for

Deng Had Role in Anti-Intellectual Campaign

To the Editor:

A. M. Rosenthal (column, Feb. 25) cites monumental crimes by Deng Xiaoping, one of the founding revolutionaries of Communist China, from the genocide in Tibet to the massacre at Tiananmen Square. It should also be noted that Mr. Deng played a primary role in the vicious Anti-Rightist Campaign of 1957, during which hundreds of thousands of intellectuals were persecuted, tortured and banished to labor camps. It was Mr. Deng who administered this campaign.

And it was the climate of terror it engendered that helped Mao Zedong pursue his agenda to its logical end: the Great Leap Forward of 1958 to 1960, which resulted in the mass famine of 1959 to 1962 and the deaths of as many as 30 million Chinese.

In Beijing in 1989, Fang Lizhi, one of China's greatest dissidents, told me that when he and others proposed a conference in the mid-1980's to unearth the history of the Anti-Rightist Campaign, Mr. Deng was so adamant that his own role not be ex-

posed that he personally put a stop to the conference and expelled Mr. Fang from the party. JOE CUOMO
Flushing, Queens, Feb. 25, 1997
The writer taught English in and reported from China in the mid-80's.

To the Editor:

Minxin Pei (letter, Feb. 23) asserts that under Deng Xiaoping, "China enjoyed the most peaceful period in its modern history." Who is he kidding? During Mr. Deng's tenure the regime almost precipitated a border war with India, suppressed moves toward Tibetan autonomy and engaged in the brutal Tiananmen massacre. If these can be called "peaceful," one dreads to think what a future Chinese regime may resort to.

SUMIT GANGULY
New York, Feb. 23, 1997

To the Editor:

Alice H. Amsden (letter, Feb. 26) slights the pro-democracy advocates in China when she characterizes their democratic desires as "alleged yearnings" dependent upon economic progress. In the months preceding the 1989 protests in Tiananmen Square, 42 scientists signed a petition calling for greater democracy, freeing of political prisoners and increased freedoms. They argued that history showed economic reform is dependent upon political democratization.

MICHAEL SCHREIBER
Ossining, N.Y., Feb. 27, 1997

Capital Gains Windfall

To the Editor:

You reported that Republicans say a cut in the capital gains tax would lead to new investment, which would create jobs ("Democrats Show Some Flexibility on Capital Gains," front page, Feb. 23). In the past my employer has always used such tax windfalls to buy Japanese machinery and then hire Mexican immigrants at minimum wage to run it. Hooray for the red, white and blue.

RICK REYNOLDS
Aurora, Ill., Feb. 23, 1997

To the Editor:

Your Feb. 25 Science Times article "Workaday World of Stock Breeding Clones Blockbuster" says "Scientists once thought that cloning was biologically impossible — now that they know it can be done, they need to learn how to do it better."

Better? Than what? Better for whom? They "need" to? Why should it be assumed that the need to manipulate life mechanisms is entitled to satisfaction?

Could it be that the revulsion many of us felt on hearing of this breakthrough stems from the split between the scientific and the sacred? We seem to be operating under the assumption that the world is nothing but material — be it nucleus, gene, sheep, person, Earth or star — there for probing, for profit, with any sense of reverence completely abandoned. This assumption needs to be questioned.

WALTER GLICKMAN
Brooklyn, Feb. 25, 1997

To the Editor:

While I enjoyed your coverage of the successful cloning of an adult sheep (front page, Feb. 24), I was somewhat surprised that none of the scientists involved could offer a reason we would want to clone ourselves.

Who among us hasn't thought that much of our lives are spent unlearning erroneous things we were taught?

While all parents try to teach their children what they perceive to be the truth, young people tend to have to "learn the hard way," by experience. But assuming one is fairly intelligent, what more respected authority could one have than an older version of oneself? And who better to understand one's own thought processes and viewpoints? I wouldn't have minded having a wise tutor clone around. Mom and Dad, no offense intended!

HAROLD KYRIAZI
Pittsburgh, Feb. 24, 1997

To the Editor:

Re your Feb. 23 news article "Scientist Reports First Cloning Ever of Adult Mammal": It is relatively easy to take a stand against what might be called the vanity cloning of oneself, or the mercenary cloning of great athletes or beauties. But consider the much more difficult case of, say, a 10-year-old girl who has developed a deadly blood disease. Only a bone marrow transplant can save her, but neither her parents nor her siblings are close enough matches.

The parents might try to bear a new child to serve as marrow donor, as an American couple famously did several years ago — but even then, the odds may be against obtaining a match. But a clone of the sick girl would, by definition, offer a 100 percent compatible transplant.

Who is to tell the parents that they cannot take this step to save their daughter's life? And in truth, would it be so terrible for them to take it?

DAVID A. BELL
Baltimore, Feb. 23, 1997

Keeping Human Contact in Economics Isn't a Renegade View

To the Editor:

Alan Ehrenhalt's Feb. 23 Op-Ed piece, "Keepers of the Dismal Faith," labels those economists who would agree with him "renegades." On the contrary, these arguments have been made by some of the most distinguished American economists of this century.

For instance, John Maurice Clark (1884-1963) urged mathematical economists to communicate with others rather than give way to a mistaken conception of the requirements of science.

In 1941 he expressed his forebodings: "We appear to be in for a period of government by statistics and econometrics. . . . There is real danger that, in certain sectors, government's immediate objective will be not a realistic picture of the lives of its citizens but figures in tables or lines on charts which leave out vital imponderables."

Unfortunately, views of economists like Clark are no longer taught in most universities — because they cannot be put into mathematical terms! Our new economics Ph.D.'s

do not, alas, learn their own history. LAURENCE SHUTE
Pomona, Calif., Feb. 24, 1997
The writer is a professor of economics at California State Polytechnic University.

The Popcorn Puzzle

To the Editor:

Alan Ehrenhalt's Op-Ed article of Feb. 23 uses one of our papers to attack the methodology of modern economics. We are accused of ignoring the "common-sense" truth that the price of concessions at movies is irrelevant, and that "all that really matters is the movie being shown and the location of the theater." If Mr. Ehrenhalt is right, what pre-

vents movie theaters from charging twice what they currently charge?

If the admission price matters, is it not common sense that the cost of popcorn and other concessions, which can easily exceed the cost of admission, also matters? Popcorn in theaters is expensive not because that is "the price of leisure-time social harmony," but because it is a form of price discrimination that can be practiced even by competitive companies.

ALVARO RODRIGUEZ
LUIS LOCAZ
Newark, Feb. 27, 1997

The writers are associate professors of economics, at, respectively, Rutgers University and the University of Miami.

Yiddish and the Bard

To the Editor:

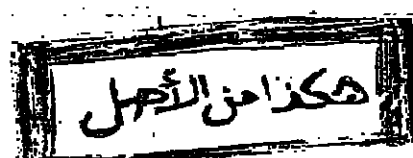
"How Yiddish Shlepped to Coquer" (Week in Review, Feb. 23) asks "how [Shakespeare's] noble rhymes would have incorporated kosh, nosh and kvetch." Has your reporter not noticed "Woe is me" and "Vay iz mir," with their identical meanings?

Perhaps you will remember that one may curse in Yiddish by crying "A cholera offen zie," or in Shakespeare's English, "A pox on thee." Probably there are more instances. No wonder that in some circles, Shakespeare was suspected of being a Jew.

SYLVIA GASSELL
New York, Feb. 23, 1997

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My Night In the Lincoln Bedroom

By John Guare

Last Wednesday, I read the list of fat cats who had stayed overnight at the White House since 1992. How much had they paid to stay there? I was prepared to be shocked. Then I saw my wife's name. And mine. Yes, will there be a Senate investigation of the people who stayed there? How will I explain my sleepover to Senator Alfonse D'Amato?

Scene: A Senate hearing room. Yes, we had stayed overnight at the White House — yes, in the Lincoln Bedroom. Yes, I was a donor. In 1992, I gave \$25 to the Clinton campaign. In 1993, my wife, Adele Chatfield-Taylor, and I were invited to a dinner at the White House. No, we didn't know the Clintons. Why was the President trying to get on my good side? I don't know. We were among a hundred who were invited that evening. No sir, no heads of state, no stars, no speeches. Yes, the food was good.

Who else was there? I remember meeting Margaret Truman. Is she an arms dealer? I don't know. She was staying overnight in Lincoln's bedroom and that was the first night she had been back to the White House since she had lived there. Our favorite moment was falling into a walk around the second floor with the President, alone for some reason, and having him point out to his favorite picture of Abraham Lincoln, with no beard, but with the brains and the weight of the world on his shoulders.

After dinner, the Marine Corps Band played for dancing. Adele, believing that opportunity knocks over and over, told Mr. Clinton that as President of the American Academy in Rome, she had a dream that he would hand out the coveted Rome Prize to the winning painters, composers, writers and scholars from across America on the occasion of the academy's 100th birthday in April 1994. And President Clinton said sure. She slipped no envelope into his pocket.

We said good night and, six months later, Adele's wish actually was granted. The ceremony would take place in the East Wing of the White House. Two days before the event, a White House aide, Carolyn Huber, called Adele and said since we were coming down for the ceremony, why didn't we just stay over the night before? Wouldn't that be easier? Well, of course, yes!

So on April 20, 1994, we checked into the Lincoln Bedroom. No, we weren't asked for any donations. I'm tall and I've never stretched out in a longer bed than Lincoln's. We looked at the Gettysburg Address on display. No, there didn't seem to be any price tags hanging off it.

Ms. Huber said the President and Mrs. Clinton were having a quiet dinner at home that evening and would we stay? We had to go to the

John Guare, a playwright, is the author of "Six Degrees of Separation."

HOTEL SERVICE



that you will REMEMBER

National Gallery for the 100th anniversary gala but may we join them for coffee around 10 P.M.? Fine. We dreamed of our dazzling after-dinner conversation where we would instruct the President on world policy. It was now 8:30 P.M. Adele and an Italian dignitary gave their salutes,

No, we didn't have to give \$250,000 to get pancakes.

lickety-split. So far so good.

8:45. We'll be home with the President before they start the soup. (Mr. President, let me explain Bosnia to you.) Next speaker, on and off, one-two-three.

8:55. Piece of cake. (And while we're at it, Mr. President, the arts funding...) And then the last speaker of the evening got up and said, "At this momentous time in history, let us review the architecture of the past."

At 10, he said, "By now it was 1937." We still had a world war to go through. At 10:45, he was up to the 60's. We looked at our watches in horror. Do you know the Luis Buñuel movie where the guests are trapped for eternity at a dinner party? A capsule in space had more chance of escape.

The speaker finally reached the present. Maybe it was the greatest speech ever given. As the audience clapped, we ran out. Our hosts need us! History needs us! We got to the White House, checked through security — hurry, hurry, we live here! — and ran in the south entrance. Taylor

Branch, the historian, was coming out: "They couldn't wait up any longer. They went to bed."

We walked down the halls. We knew our way. It was late. It was dark. We went into the Lincoln Bedroom. We took the card from the pillow on Lincoln's rosewood bed asking what we wanted for breakfast and put it outside the door. No, there was no request for \$250,000 for pancakes, 300 thou with sausages.

We heard a door shut. Did the eyes on Lincoln's portrait move? No. All was quiet. The White House at midnight, in spite of its magnificence, seemed like, well, a house where people lived who had just turned in.

We tried to make some sense of it all, laughed with surreal glee and fell asleep. No, Senator Lott, at no time did Al Gore and a band of monks wake us up demanding hundreds of thousands of dollars if we wanted to sleep the night through.

The next morning, after breakfast, we went out in the hall and bumped into Hillary Clinton. She said, "We waited up for you. What happened?"

We had coffee with her before she

went into a press conference. Richard Nixon was gravely ill. The President would have to stay by the phone. Later that day, Mrs. Clinton, in his place, gave out the Rome prizes. Everyone was very happy.

We tried to explain to Mrs. Clinton we were not leaving. This was our home. But we went back to New York. I prayed for people to ask me where we had stayed; it's a hard fact to cram into casual conversation. But of course no one did until now. Yes, Senator, we gave \$25 to the 1996 Clinton campaign to insure our future access, but we haven't been asked back yet.

What do we think? Every time we see a picture of the White House taken from the South Lawn, we point to the Lincoln window. That's our room.

And you know what? It is. **W**

Op-Ed Columnists

The Op-Ed columnists now appear on the following schedule:

- Sunday, William Safire and Frank Rich; Monday, Thomas L. Friedman, Anthony Lewis and Bob Herbert; Tuesday, A. M. Rosenthal and Russell Baker; Wednesday, Maureen Dowd and William Safire; Thursday, Frank Rich and Thomas L. Friedman; Friday, Bob Herbert, Anthony Lewis and A. M. Rosenthal; Saturday, Russell Baker and Maureen Dowd.

Journal

FRANK RICH

Power of the Purse

G.O.P. donors rebel.

To understand why behind-closed-door revolts against the religious right are gathering speed — and cash — at lofty levels of the Republican Party, look at a plebeian Congressman like Tom Coburn of Oklahoma. No sooner had 85 million Americans embraced "Schindler's List" last Sunday than Mr. Coburn denounced NBC for affronting "decent-minded individuals everywhere" and hitting an "all-time low" by airing a movie with "multiple gunshot wounds, vile language, full frontal nudity and irresponsible sexual activity."

Mr. Coburn co-chairs the Congressional Family Caucus and is an exemplar of Christian Coalition values: he scores 100 percent on the Pat Robertson-Ralph Reed machine's voter guides. But is he anywhere near the American mainstream that decides national elections? Panicked G.O.P. elders had to school him in the fact that nudity and violence were just plain unavoidable in the Holocaust before he retreated.

It's religious-right poster boys like Mr. Coburn who make some Republican leaders fear that their party is doomed to drive away even more women and moderates, thereby continuing its losing streak in Presidential elections and risking a bicastal Congressional meltdown. A post-election survey by American Viewpoint, a G.O.P. pollster, for the Log Cabin Republicans found that Christian Coalition support made voters dramatically less likely to vote for Dole-Kemp everywhere except the South.

When Ralph Reed once again lorded his power over the party in January — bringing to the columnist Da-

vid Broder that "Christian conservatives were decisive" in electing James Nicholson to succeed Haley Barbour as G.O.P. chairman — one party powerhouse got sore enough to take action. John Moran — the G.O.P. and then Dole finance chairman in recent years — wrote a letter to 15 other Republican heavy-hitters saying that the Christian Coalition and far right had put the party "in jeopardy." He proposed that big donors give to a separate organization to promote a more moderate G.O.P.

In an interview, Mr. Moran, a 65-year-old retired investor and a self-described "quiet" conservative, told me he'd rather be playing golf at home in Florida than fighting for his party. But once his letter leaked out to Dan Balz of The Washington Post, he was deluged with calls from others in the G.O.P. "donor base" tired of "raising money to support a part of the party we don't agree with." Two weekends ago in Palm Beach Mr. Moran spoke to an executive meeting of Team 100 — the top, six-figure G.O.P. contributors — and found that instead of having to defend himself he was "really well received."

Mr. Moran says he is "not trying to split the party." He will meet with Mr. Reed and be hopeful about Mr. Nicholson ("I will give him the benefit of the

doubt for the time being"). But what if the religious right's intransigent litmus tests, especially about abortion, preclude a recentering of the G.O.P.? Won't the Christian Coalition's tough grass-roots organization trump Mr. Moran's big bucks? "Yes, the moderates have the money and the hard right has the organization," says Mr. Moran, "but you can build all kinds of organizations with money." Tanya Melich, the usually pessimistic author of "The Republican War Against Women," says a Moran rebellion could succeed where others have failed because it involves "white male establishment Republicans — a lot of them, not just a few — and not just Northeastern moderates but those living in areas where the party is basically strong."

Mr. Moran's is not the only closeted post-election G.O.P. insurgency. In Washington, 17 Congressmen are organizing the Main Street Coalition — which one of its leaders, Amo Houghton, describes as a mirror image of the Democratic Leadership Council, the group instrumental in nudging the Democratic Party from the left to the Clintonian center. But Main Street is not only an effort to formulate centrist G.O.P. policy. It is recruiting a "star-studded cast" of civic leaders, says Rick Lazio, the Long Island Congressman, among them top businessmen ready to write checks. "It's almost scary how easy it is to sell it," he adds, which may be as good a poll as any of just how much Main Street and Wall Street Republicans alike are finally willing to challenge the far right.

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Build Those Houses

WASHINGTON Palestinian Arabs are calling on the world to stop Israel from building houses for Israelis inside the city limits of Jerusalem.

That presents the Palestinian claim to sovereignty over part of what Israel dares to consider its capital in the starkest of terms. If Jews were to defer to this demand, that would automatically put the status of today's undivided Jerusalem "in play" — and raise Arab expectations to heights that would make a negotiated settlement impossible.

Realistic expectations on both sides are the keys to peace.

Last month, after the Likud-approved withdrawal from Hebron, even the most hard-line Israelis grasped the reality that a large portion of disputed West Bank land would be turned over to Palestinian self-rule — and that the resulting "entity," to use the word rejectionist Arabs long applied to Israel, would have many attributes of a nation.

Many Israelis never expected that. The prospect of a Palestinian nation on the border took a lot of hard swallowing. Now that its likelihood is realized, Prime Minister Netanyahu must negotiate limits on Palestine's coming sovereignty to protect Israel's airspace, water supply, and population.

This month, we have the test of the realism of Palestinian expectations. Do those include the partition, euphemized as "sharing," of Jerusalem? Such a demand would be a deal-breaker; to insist on creating a foreign island inside Jerusalem would be as provocative as Israeli annexation of the entire West Bank.

Israel just had a free election about the future of its capital, and 56 percent of Israel's Jews supported Netanyahu; one cause of that landslide among non-Arab Israelis was a conviction that he would be the most certain to preserve Jerusalem's unity.

That is why this construction of homes in the neighborhood called Har Homa — which Arabs see as on the pathway from their future state to East Jerusalem — is no mere tacking to the right. It is an affirmation of Israel's intent to keep its capital whole. Netanyahu, having waited until the Supreme Court approved the legality of building on the land, showed an interest in amity by providing half again as many homes inside Jerusalem for Arab families.

Within Israel, a consensus has been struck accepting a half-the-West-Bank state with its capital outside Jerusa-

lem. Some of Labor's ardent doves, including Oslo architect Yossi Beilin, joined Likud leaders in an informal manifesto that included maintaining undivided sovereignty in Jerusalem.

In that remarkable embrace of realism, Israelis of left and right supported special status for holy places and local power-sharing in Arab neighborhoods, but the unofficial coalition's central message to the Arabs

Whose capital is it, anyway?

and the world was plain: Most Israelis envision a final settlement that respects the unity of Jerusalem.

"You cannot make peace on the outside if you cannot make peace on the inside," Netanyahu told Sir David Frost the other night. Israelis are making peace with each other on the inside about territory, despite the fiercest rows about politics; now the challenge to the Palestinians is to make their internal peace as well, which calls for getting their expectations in line with reality.

When Yasir Arafat arrives at the White House tomorrow morning (sorry, that bedroom is booked) President Clinton should make clear what Palestinians can realistically expect: a state with a flag and a U.N. seat but limits on air and water rights; half the arable land of the West Bank, made contiguous around Israeli settlements through the most creative gerrymandering; and economic opportunity linked to democratic progress.

How should Clinton and his James Baker-trained advisers help negotiations move ahead?

Not by pumping up false hopes for certain letdown; not by tolerating crowd-pleasing hate rhetoric; not by failing to press for arrests of Arab terrorists; and surely not by nutting at Israel for making clear that Jerusalem is not on the table for sectioning into competing capitals.

The clear signal Israel sends now about the inviolability of Jerusalem makes final settlement more likely later. U.N. or U.S. pressure on Israel to delay sending any signal at all, or to show by silence or inaction any weakness of resolve, would invite unrealistic expectations by Palestinians and thus subvert a final agreement. □

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In many respects, the history of Zionism is co-extensive with the history of the Jewish people in the last hundred years. The intense debate between proponents and opponents of Zionism has abated only with the renewal of Jewish statehood in 1948, when world Jewry rallied in support of the newly-born state.

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MUSIC

Digging Deep for Treasures From Every Era of the Past

By LAWRENCE B. JOHNSON

SONY CLASSICAL holds the deed to a deep, rich vein of recording history: the legacy of Columbia Masterworks. And the new owner has already mined there often, unearthing gems of varying weight, value and condition.

Sony Classical shows a new purpose in exploiting the Masterworks heritage left to it by Columbia.

Columbia Phonograph Co. billed its 1903 Grand Opera Series. But such genuine antiquities hardly define Masterworks Heritage, which boasts a wealth of vocal and instrumental recordings extending through the early electrical era to the monophonic beginnings of the LP and on into stereo sound.

Each album is itself a small treasury. Instead of the familiar CD jewel boxes, the new disks are presented in folding cardboard sleeves with reproductions of cover art from the original 78's and LP's.

Although digital conversion of older recordings to CD has been common practice throughout the industry for a long time and the results have often been good, the Sony venture entails exceptionally stringent

methods and standards. For recordings made before the advent of magnetic tape, in 1949, the Sony team, led by the producer Thomas Frost, has gone back to pristine sources: rare surviving metal masters, lacquer disks produced directly in recording sessions or mint-condition shellac pressings.

The meticulous care lavished on this project is audible at every turn, and Mr. Frost's decision to leave in whooshes and swishes where their removal might steal air and life from the recording also proves wise.

That remarkable package affords delightful insights into the early days of recording on several levels. In the beginning, it seems, producers were not content with mere music and (very colorful) annotations.

The style of early program notes is long gone, too. Sony faithfully, not to say zealously, reproduces a booklet of artist profiles provided with the 1903 sampler.

Not shy about promoting its wondrous new technology, Columbia printed letters from its artists on the quality of these first recordings.

And that awe-struck tribute of aught-three, fitted to a more modern standard, applies to Mr. Frost's restorative efforts here and in six other vocal disks in the series.

From the early days of electrical recording, when microphones replaced the giant horn as sound gatherer, comes a powerful compilation of songs and arias sung by the bass Alexander Kipnis (MHK 62354). Kipnis sings Handel's "Al senti stringo e parto" from the opera "Ariodante"



George Szell—His early stereo recording of the four Schumann symphonies has finally been released intact.

in 1930 without a thought to period "authenticity." Yet one is riveted by his dark voice and piercing expressive insight.

That clarity and presence, not just of voice but also of persona, prevail as well in a collection of opera arias and Brazilian songs recorded in the 1940's by the soprano Bidí Sayão (MHK 62355). In her legendary recording of the aria from Villa-Lobos's "Bachiana Brasileira" No. 5 and in a generous group of arias from Massenet's "Manon," Mr. Frost's sonic legerdemain captures the brilliance and vulnerability of Ms. Sayão's art.

Two disks recall singers who reached their primes in the early years of the LP, just before the advent of stereo sound: the bass George London and the soprano Eleanor Steber. The London disk (MHK 62758) offers a staggering series of great bass arias — from Mussorgsky's "Boris Godunov," the "Fausts" of Gounod and Berlioz, Boito's "Mefistofele," Massenet's "Thaïs" and "Don Quichotte" — each seemingly more vividly drawn than the last.

Neither there nor in the Steber

reissue (MHK 62356) does one feel the distance of years. In the loving hands of Mr. Frost's team, digital technology has put the bloom back in the voices. And Ms. Steber's was a rare flower, to be sure. Here, newly illuminated, is her exquisite account of Berlioz's "Nuits d'Été," together with more Berlioz, some Haydn and Mendelssohn, and two radiant arias from Bach cantatas.

Two operatic disks, featuring the soprano Eileen Farrell (MHK 62358) and the tenor Richard Tucker (MHK 62357), represent the stereo era. Both are devoted to the music of Verdi, and in both, one artist is heard supporting the other. They are like matched pieces of silver, Tucker singing "Celeste Aida" and Ms. Farrell "Ritorna vincitor."

Like the vocal disks, the orchestral items emphasize real sonic enhancement and listenability over the curio factor. Only one instrumental release, the complete recordings of Eugène Ysaÿe as violinist and conductor (MHK 62337), dating from 1912 to 1919, evokes anything like historical dustiness. Antiquarians will be happy; others can pass.

But the dust is off a couple of obscure recordings now well worth owning. Dimitri Mitropoulos's 1940 account of Mahler's First Symphony with the Minneapolis Symphony (MHK 62342) offers a provocative option to the long gray list of modern-day recordings. While the sound shows some age, this reincarnation gives clear voice to the compulsive nervousness of an insightful reading and a pian performance.

Another notable recovery is Fritz Reiner's sympathetic treatment of Shostakovich's Sixth Symphony with the Pittsburgh Symphony, recorded in 1945 (MHK 62343). Reiner's name was hardly linked to Soviet music, yet here is one fine-tuned musician bringing sure instinct to the angst-ridden message of another. The disk also spotlights Reiner in his more familiar element, in Kodaly's "Galantia Dances" and Bartok's "Hungarian Sketches." Another release of Reiner and the Pittsburgh casts a warm light on brisk, bright readings of Mozart's 35th and 40th Symphonies and Beethoven's 2d (MHK 62344).

Although Sony will add many more titles to the series in coming months, to date it includes few in-

strumental soloists. But two collections resuscitated from the monophonic early 50's deserve attention. One, a Liszt program, offers the pianist Claudio Arrau's bravura sweep through the First Concerto and the Fantasy on Hungarian Folk Songs, both with Eugene Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra, plus a heady sampling of Hungarian Rhapsodies (MHK 62338).

The second is a two-disk compendium of concerto recordings by the violinist Zino Francescatti: Mendelssohn, Tchaikovsky, Bruch's G minor, Prokofiev's G minor and Saint-Saëns's B minor, all with Mitropoulos and the New York Philharmonic, plus Chausson's "Poème" with Ormandy and the Philadelphia. (MHK 62339). Francescatti's eloquent and vivacious Saint-Saëns, from 1950, was one of my first really compelling encounters in classical music, and it's nice to find it transfigured into a new and more beautiful state.

Kindred LP-loving spirits may react similarly to two other releases. George Szell's early stereo traversal of the four Schumann symphonies with the Cleveland Orchestra appear together on CD for the first time (MHK 62348; two CD's). In fact, his luminous readings of the Schumann Second and Third had never made it to CD at all.

Then there is "The Philadelphia Orchestra Plays Bach" (MHK 62345; two CD's), with Ormandy and Leopold Stokowski at the helm in Technicolor stereophonic productions of toccatas and fugues and the "Brandenburg" Concerto No. 5. It is scrupulously "authentic": hi-fi, that is.

For pure electricity, nothing in the series tops Leonard Bernstein's 1961 recording of Milhaud's ferocious cantata "Les Chœphores," stylishly mated with Roussel's Third Symphony and Honegger's "Rugby" and "Pacific 231" (MHK 62352). And for pure heart, nothing outlines the remembrance of Thomas Schippers, who leads the New York Philharmonic in a cluster of short pieces by Samuel Barber (MHK 62837). The Adagio for Strings may never have glowed more deeply.

FILM

Questions Raised by 'Shine'

By THANE ROSENBAUM

LONG before "Shine" received seven Oscar nominations, the film had its American premiere at last year's Sundance Film Festival. There the film's creative team, composed largely of Australians, made a remarkable discovery. Audiences, particularly Jewish ones, saw a movie somewhat different from the one that the director, Scott Hicks, had envisioned: a visual anthem to David Helfgott, the brilliant young Jewish pianist who had a mental breakdown and then recovered.

The reaction of the audience at Sundance was really quite palpable," said Geoffrey Rush, who was nominated for an Oscar for his starring role as the oldest David Helfgott. "It seems that for Jews it is a much more powerful experience."

Even at Sundance, however, audiences debated what caused the pianist's breakdown while playing the Rachmaninoff Piano Concerto No. 3, or, as it is known in the film, the "Rach 3." The film intentionally took an elliptical approach to Mr. Helfgott's journey through art, madness and redemption.

The young Mr. Helfgott is portrayed as a fragile musical prodigy. His volatile father, Peter, played by Armin Mueller-Stahl, lives out his own shattered musical destiny by brutalizing his son, both physically and emotionally. Behind the brutality, however, is a perverse love, perhaps rooted in the losses the family suffered during the Holocaust.

The film offers three likely suspects for David Helfgott's descent, in pretty much this order: a history of family violence and child abuse, the treacherousness of a musical career in general and the "Rach 3" in particular, and the legacy of the Holocaust. As Mr. Hicks said in an interview: "There is strength in ambiguity. I want audiences to draw their own conclusions, to discover the messages themselves."

Australians saw the family as immigrants; Americans saw them as Jewish.

class immigrants when we were children in Australia. For the most part, we saw the Helfgotts as an impoverished immigrant family directing their child with great intensity toward achievement."

Mr. Hicks agreed, but was more tantalized by the symbolic possibilities of the "Rach 3." "I see the 'Rach 3' as the Holy Grail of this film," he said. "Artists sometimes push against dangerous psychological frontiers in pursuit of their passions. They leave us with trophies of their journeys, but sometimes they themselves never come back."

Mr. Mueller-Stahl, who has received an Oscar nomination for his performance, had something else in mind in preparing for the pivotal role of Peter Helfgott. He was thinking about his own father, a German soldier who was killed a few days before the end of the war. Mr. Mueller-Stahl's father always wanted to be an actor — the destiny fulfilled by his son, in much the same way that David, in "Shine," is given the responsibility of achieving what his father, Peter, could not.

So where does the Holocaust appear in the film and how does it fit in? In many ways the director and actors seem to view it as mere background music played pianissimo against the heavy metal of the "Rach 3" and the shrieking echoes of the father whipping his son.

But there is one scene in which Peter Helfgott's gaze freezes at a vision of barbed wire. In another, his daughter asks to see his scar, "where the lion scratched you," and he prepares to roll up his sleeve and show her his forearm. Then he stops and says something — not everyone catches this bit of dialogue, and some of those who do consider it metaphorical — about getting "too close to the bars."

Then there is the adult David's own staccato, coded mutterings about "Daddy and his family before they were concentrated." Earlier he says, about his father or perhaps his grandfather, "He got exterminated, didn't he?"

Each of these images points to the conclusion that Peter Helfgott was a Holocaust survivor.

While the imagery in "Shine" suggests that Peter Helfgott and his wife survived the concentration camps of Poland, the real-life Helfgotts were not Holocaust survivors. They left Poland before Hitler's invasion, although relatives who remained behind did not survive. This is not a trivial detail to Holocaust survivors, who are rightly sensitive about comparisons between their memories and the experience of those who watched from a distance.

David Helfgott's older sister, Margaret, has expressed her concern about her family's experiences in a barrage of letters to Jewish newspapers and others: "In the film, my father seems to roll up his sleeve," she wrote. "Many people who have seen the film have interpreted this to mean that my father was showing a number from the concentration camps to my sister. From this it seems that many reviewers, journalists and the viewing public would associate my father with being a Holocaust survivor."

She has also denied that her father ever beat David. In an interview she said she was concerned that her father was "portrayed as a brutal Holocaust survivor, as if the Holocaust was responsible."

But aside from differences between the literal story of the Helfgotts and the movie, there is the question of what "Shine" as a work of art says about the role of the Holocaust in David's descent into madness. Curiously, the people associated with the making of the film play down the significance of the Holocaust images in the film.

Mr. Mueller-Stahl thought the barbed wire represented the prison that Australia had become for Peter, a man racked with memories and disappointments and harsh feelings toward the world. "He was putting himself in jail because the world was filled with lions," Mr. Mueller-Stahl suggested.

Perhaps the biggest irony of all concerns those lions — the real rather than metaphorical ones. Although the film doesn't develop this connection, it happens that underneath Peter's sleeve is not a tattoo from a concentration camp but rather a scar from his days in the circus. Long before the real Peter Helfgott had moved to Australia, he had been a circus worker, and he had in fact been bitten — albeit by a tiger, and on the hand, not on the forearm.

According to Mr. Hicks, it is really Peter's circus experience to which "Shine" is referring, not any overt association with the Holocaust.

PERFECT SQUARES

BY HARVEY ESTES / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- 1 Follow
8 Cases
15 Unmemorized words
20 Begin, e.g.
21 Less stirred
22 Winslow Homer's home
23 Be ecstatic
26 King of the 18th dynasty
27 Parodied, with "up"
28 Poetic contraction
29 Even though
30 Tiny bit
33 Go to bat for
35 Sault — Marie
36 Okla. football rival
37 "Women and Love" author
40 Neighbor of Minn
41 Garnish
42 Paris-to-Marseilles dir.
43 Song from the Beatles' "Sgt Pepper" album
48 Rocker Joan
49 Principle of philosophy
50 Old Alka-Seltzer mascot
51 Finner's cry
53 Slippery —
54 Land of the Chosen people
55 "Diary of a Genius" author
57 Bring upon oneself
61 Stout relative
62 With 86-Down, partner of butts
63 Brunch beverage
65 — incognita
66 Musical measures
68 Some gold diggers
72 Watch word
73 Not chronic
75 Approached
76 Nice view
78 Fraternity letter
79 Pool contents?
80 "It's — World"
81 Bow in the theater
83 Reunion group
84 B flat's equivalent
87 1985 N.L. Cy Young Award winner
88 Ally of the U.S.
89 Raised
92 Slots
96 King's title: Abbr.
97 Melville foretopman
98 Singer Janis
99 Rockefeller Center muralist
100 Chemical suffix
101 Hosp. areas
102 Sandinista foe
105 Cruise in style
109 Reception helper
111 Performs, for King James
112 Downwind

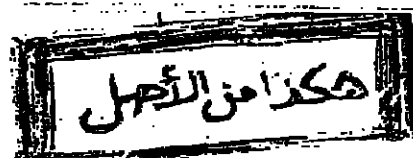
15x15 crossword puzzle grid with numbers 1-112 indicating starting points for across and down words.

DOWN

- 1 Strains in a way
2 Exhaust
3 Where Sir Arthur Evans excavated
4 Hall-of-Famer Hubbard
5 Slimmer swimmer
6 Some Ivy Leaguers
7 Water barrier
8 It's quarried in Vermont
9 Continuous sound
10 Celebrated
11 Galore
12 Like some floors
13 Presumptive person?
14 Full house indicator
15 Sashayed
16 Brush carelessly
17 Post's prerogative
18 Most pitch-black
19 Optimal option
24 Objective
25 First published work by 39-Down
31 Antonio's role in "Evita"
32 Aguirre portrayer
34 Very alluring
35 Whisky drink
38 Alert
39 The Sage of Concord
41 Chaperon opera or its heroine
43 "Ben-Hur" author
44 Round trip of sorts
45 Spot
46 Humphrey's "High Sierra" co-star
47 Malefactor
48 Jamie Lee's mom
49 It's often in hot water
52 Supplies
55 Treated to supper
56 Surrounded by
58 Fair play
59 Ragamuffins
60 Yard chore
63 — Breckinridge?
64 Easily maneuverable military forces
67 Place
69 Raised
70 City with a Latin quarter
71 Composed
74 Drain trap shape, at times
77 Petered out
81 Provincetown catch
82 Tennis shot
85 Like some wages
86 See 62-Across
87 Chap
89 Get some air
90 Urban modernization
91 Chomolungma's more familiar name
93 "Do the Right Thing" extras
94 Way down?
95 Spanish diminutive suffix
97 Hammered
102 Recesses
103 Coarse files
104 Former ring king
106 Riding accessories
107 Representative location
108 Rollers?
110 Division word
111 Midler's — Las Vegas?
118 Big cheese
114 Use acid
117 A gift in O. Henry's "The Gift of the Magi"
119 Squeal
119 Good — boy
120 Old-style interjection

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

A 10x10 grid of letters corresponding to the previous puzzle's solution.



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COMMODITIES ROUNDUP

Grain, soy futures up

By MICHAEL ZWERNER

Grain and soy complex futures finished the week mostly higher in active trade. Soybean futures ended up, as technically inspired activity became a featured attraction.

The week began on a down note, however, as ideas that the market was overbought weighed on prices.

On Tuesday, futures bounded higher on technical and commercial buying interest. As the week unfolded, profit-taking and active cash market sales dragged prices lower once again, with an onslaught of speculative selling capping off Thursday's trading.

End of the month position squaring and speculative bargain hunting under pinned prices at week's end, enabling soybeans to finish on an upnote. The May contract jumped 7-3/4 cents over the course of the week, ending at \$7.93-1/4.

Corn futures finished modestly higher, after a week filled with unrelenting activity. Technical and hedge-related selling dragged prices lower initially, before spillover strength from the soy complex sparked prices to the upside on Tuesday.

This topsy-turvy action continued through mid-week with overbought technical indicators and continued speculative interest battling to establish price direction.

CommStock Trading Ltd.

German unemployment at 4.8 million - report

BONN (Reuters) - German Labor Minister Norbert Blum called yesterday for closer cooperation between unions, employers and the government to fight unemployment, which according to one newspaper hit 4.8 million in February.

"We must jointly pull ourselves together," Blum said in an interview broadcast on Deutschlandfunk radio. The rise in joblessness was caused mainly by delays in implementing innovations in production and working practices, he said.

Bild am Sonntag said unemployment rose by 120,000 to a new postwar record of 4.8 million in February, lifting the rate to 12.5 percent from January's 12.2%.

In January the jobless total surged by more than 500,000 to 4.66 million, the highest level since Adolf Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s.

The paper did not give a source for the February figures, which will be officially released by the Federal Labor Office on Thursday.

The unabated rise in unemployment, with the resulting benefit payouts and loss of tax revenues, has sparked fears that Germany may not be able to get its finances in shape for European monetary union, due to start on January 1, 1999.

Blum said the government could not solve the problem on its own. "The primary responsibility for labor lies with companies."

Bavaria's Finance Minister Erwin Huber said in a radio interview that federal government tax revenues in the first two months of 1997 were well below plan.

Meanwhile, the head of Germany's DGB trade union federation, Dieter Schulte, said more than one million jobs could be created by combining various forms of shortening working hours.

Two Burmese workers carry baskets of sand out of a boat on the Irrawaddy River outside Mandalay in central Burma. The average daily salary for a Burmese worker is about 50 US cents a day, and the country's economy is still suffering from serious macroeconomic problems that have worsened since last April.

(Reuters)



Hard times in Burma

Two Burmese workers carry baskets of sand out of a boat on the Irrawaddy River outside Mandalay in central Burma. The average daily salary for a Burmese worker is about 50 US cents a day, and the country's economy is still suffering from serious macroeconomic problems that have worsened since last April.

(Reuters)

TASE ROUNDUP

Indexes fall sharply

Mishtanim	245.91 ▼ 2.85	Maof	254.38 ▼ 2.67
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By DAN GERSTENFELD

Shares on the exchange closed sharply lower yesterday in thin trading in response to the decline of Israeli shares traded in New York on Friday, traders said.

The benchmark Mishtanim index of top 100 shares fell 2.85 percent or 7.23 points, to 245.91 on low all-share turnover of NIS 132 million against NIS 124m. on Thursday.

The Maof 25 blue chip index closed 2.67% lower at 254.38.

"The decline of Israeli stocks

traded in New York had a negative impact on trading today and the market closed lower led by a sharp decline in small capitalization stocks traded on the Karam," said Ari Eidelheit, of Zeler Eblagon Securities.

"The nervousness of Wall Street is worrying. I believe that the correction will continue one or two more days," said Danini Scharia of Capital Securities.

The most active shares were Koor Industries, which fell 3.75%.

(Reuters)

Italian parties seek to unite on mini-budget

By ALAN BALDWIN

ROME (Reuters) - Prime Minister Romano Prodi praised opposition leader Silvio Berlusconi yesterday for expressing willingness to back a mini-budget providing the measures helped Italy join the European single currency.

"The willingness shown by the leader of the Freedom Alliance, Silvio Berlusconi, to vote for the government's public finance provisions is an act of responsibility that does him honor," Prodi said in a statement.

"I am certain that, if confirmed, such a willingness will allow the country to achieve without pointless and dangerous conflicts the objectives needed to enter the single currency with the strongest European economies."

Newspapers had quoted Berlusconi as indicating his opposition might be prepared to help Prodi with a mini-budget needed to bring Italy's deficit down to levels that would enable the country to meet single currency requirements.

Berlusconi said the government would have to spell out clearly what it was trying to achieve and also address structural problems of public spending.

However, the papers also quoted far-right National Alliance leader Gianfranco Fini, Berlusconi's main coalition partner, as declaring the government "untrustworthy."

"This is not a mini-budget but a

colossal budget, a maxi-budget given that we are talking about 15 trillion lire," the La Stampa newspaper quoted former prime minister and billionaire media mogul Berlusconi as saying. "However, if its contents are those that Europe demands of us, that is to say a structural reform of spending, we are available."

The government relies on the support of the hard-left Communist Refoundation party for a majority in parliament but that party has said it is opposed to the mini-budget and any cuts in public spending or tax hikes.

It has also called for a negotiated delay to the start of EMU and threatened to withdraw its support if the government cuts a deal with the opposition.

Massimo d'Alena, leader of the Democratic Party of the Left which is Prodi's main backer in parliament, warned Refoundation last month that it could not hold the government hostage.

"Prodi" said on Friday that his government would have an exact figure for the mini-budget within the next few weeks.

"I have said that, for now, we are looking at a figure that ranges between six trillion and 14.5 trillion lire," he said.

The Bank of Italy had said on Friday that 15 trillion lire must be sliced from the budget deficit if Italy was to cut its deficit to GDP ratio to the three percent required.

Prodi put the ratio at 3.3% to 3.4% at present and said the mini-budget would bring it to 3%.

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PACIFIC MEDITERRANEAN INVESTMENTS

Papua N. Guinea wants to buy Bougainville mine

SYDNEY (Reuters) - The Papua New Guinea government said yesterday it wanted to buy RTZ Corp Plc-CRA Ltd's controlling stake in the giant Panguna copper mine as part of a solution to the secessionist crisis on Bougainville.

Prime Minister Julius Chan said media attention on military training, including hiring of mercenaries, by Papua New Guinea troops had forced Port Moresby to announce its intentions early.

"The government can now confirm that these preparations are only part of, but not exclusively related to, a significant and radical initiative to find a satisfactory and lasting solution to the Bougainville crisis," Chan said in a statement.

"The government is approach-

ing CRA with a view to purchasing full interest and regaining control of the Panguna mine," Chan said.

"The original claims and dispute regarding this mine are at the heart of the Bougainville crisis and [are] critical to a fair and lasting solution."

The South Pacific island nation has been fighting secessionist rebels of the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) on the island province for the past nine years. Hundreds of people have died in the fighting or from lack of medical care.

A spokesman for RTZ-CRA said the miner had received no proposal from the Papua New Guinea government about the sale of its 53.6 percent stake in mine operator Bougainville

Copper Ltd.

"CRA has received no proposal and nor has it had any discussions with the PNG government regarding its interest in the Bougainville copper mine," the spokesman said.

However, he said, the company expected a formal approach from the PNG government in light of the statement.

Asked about RTZ-CRA's initial attitude to the plan, he said: "We would have to look at any proposal."

RTZ-CRA has estimated it would cost more than 450 million kina (NIS 1.1 billion) to restart the mine, which operated for 17 years before the rebellion forced its closure in 1989.

The crisis on Bougainville island flared up last week when

the Papua New Guinea government confirmed it had hired mercenaries as advisers for local troops on a mission against the rebels.

The use of mercenaries has attracted criticism from Australia, New Zealand and Britain.

The BRA said on Saturday that 170 mercenaries had landed on the island.

Chan said buying the mine would enable Papua New Guinea to restructure the ownership, financing and operation of the mine.

"A successful venture will speed up restoration and bring enhanced prosperity to Bougainville, which is in dire need of a heavy injection of funds," he said.

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Hap. Tel Aviv stuns Galil

By ARYEH DEAN COHEN

There was dancing in the streets of Tel Aviv last night, but this time it was for the other local basketball team. Hapoel Tel Aviv, who've been taking it on the chin most of the season, used an outstanding performance by Dimitri Hill to upset Hapoel Galil Elyon at Ussishkin, 73-69, and temporarily stave off the threat of relegation.

Besides Hill, it was guard Uri Lahav who was the difference down the stretch, hitting four crucial foul shots and making a vital steal with the game on the line to ensure that coach David Blatt's northerners would continue to be winless on the road.

Galil led for most of the first half, but Hill and Kevin Bradshaw kept Tel Aviv close. But in the second half, Tel Aviv's legions of loyal fans, who've suffered greatly this year, finally got something to cheer about as Hill managed to avoid fouling out while teaming with Lahav to bring their team the important victory.

Elsewhere last night, Maccabi Tel Aviv topped Hapoel Eilat, Hapoel Jerusalem claimed second place by beating Givat Shmuel, Maccabi Ra'anana topped Maccabi Ramat Gan, and Hapoel Holon fell to last place by losing to Maccabi Rishon.

Maccabi Tel Aviv 95, Hap. Eilat 87
Maccabi (15-0) essentially won the game in the first half, when sharp early shooting by Doron Sheffer, Oded Katasi and Buck Johnson allowed coach Zvi Sherf's club to open an early 24-17 lead that held up for most of the game.

Using his reserves liberally, Sherf deftly shuffled combinations, finding time for reserves like Borko Radovic and Constantin Popa who have seen little European action of late. Eilat (8-7) was able to cut the lead to within 72-69 in the second

half, a tribute to their team play and fight for loose balls that wasn't enough with point guard Corey Gaines on the bench after suffering a knee injury.

Hap. T'Am 88, Givat Shmuel 77
Dan Bingenheimer, the key to Jerusalem's important European victory over Fenerbache last week in Turkey, came up big again, scoring 27 points to lead coach Gadi Kedar's club to the victory as a warm-up to tomorrow night's home game vs. Iraklis of Greece.

Billy Thompson also had a big night with 24 and Motti Daniel added 19 as Jerusalem needed its inside game to stave off Givat Shmuel and Dennis Hopson (18 first-half points) until Adi Gordon nailed two important shots late in the contest.

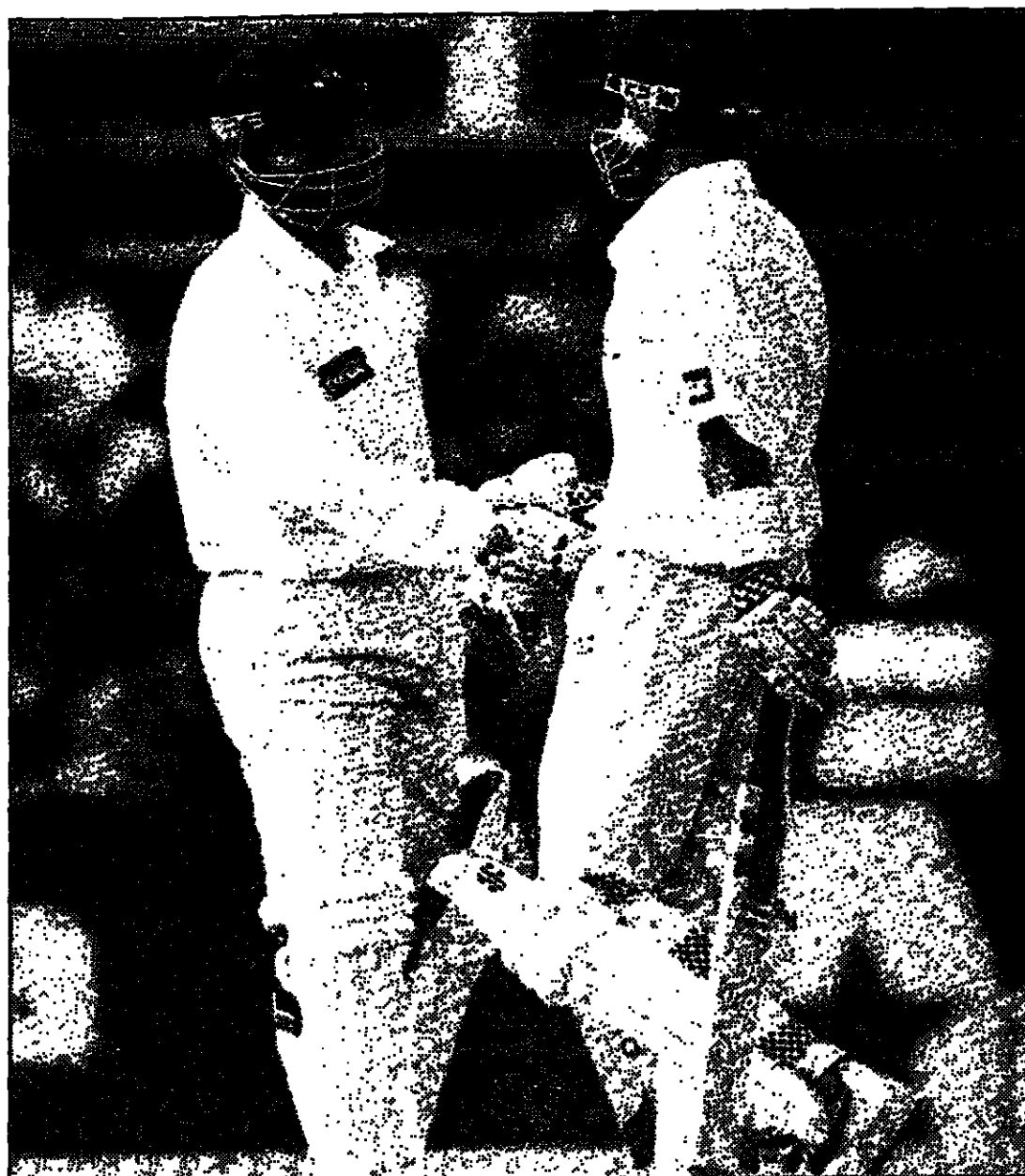
Macc. Ra'anana 100, Macc. RG 84
Surprising Ra'anana (7-8) came to Ramat Gan better prepared, and used Paul Thompson's 22 points to beat the home squad and improve its chances for a Final Four spot.

Even though they lost point guard Rotem Ehrlich early to foul trouble, Ra'anana maintained a wide lead through most of the game, as only Roy Fisher (30 points) was on target for Ramat Gan (6-9).

Macc. Rishon 84, Hap. Holon 77
Hapoel Holon dropped into the cellar, while Maccabi Rishon Lezion continued its comeback from the bottom of the pack with an important home victory.

Coach Hanoch Mintz's club pounded the ball inside successfully to James Gully and controlled the game throughout, exploiting Holon's early foul trouble.

With Doron Jamchi back in the lineup, Mintz's club nevertheless stuck to its game plan of playing inside, and improved to 6-8, while Holon continued to disappoint and slid to 5-9, in serious danger of relegation.



DEFIANT DUO - Steve Waugh (left) congratulates Greg Blewett after the latter reached his 150 in Johannesburg yesterday. Blewett ended the day unbeaten on 156 and Waugh was 137 not out. (Reuters)

Blewett, Waugh shatter records with 305-run stand

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters) - Greg Blewett and Steve Waugh shattered countless records with an unbroken fifth wicket stand of 305 as Australia moved into an unassailable position on the third day of the first test against South Africa yesterday.

The tourists finished the day as they had started with Blewett and Waugh together. It was only the 10th time in test cricket that the same two batsmen have batted through an uninterrupted day's play and the 12th instance of a full day's play without a wicket.

The total of 479 for four at the close gave Australia a first innings lead of 177 after they bowled out South Africa out for 302 on the first day.

The two batsmen, treating every delivery on merit, never found it necessary to take the slightest risk after resuming at their overnight total of 191 for four. Waugh reached 50 first, from 113 deliveries, while Blewett played the junior role in

taking 142 balls to pass the same landmark.

But South Australian Blewett began to dominate soon after and was first to reach three figures from 223 balls when he drove Allan Donald through mid-on for his 17th boundary which also registered the 200 partnership. It was his third century in only 14 tests.

Waugh survived a bizarre chance on 44 when he ducked under a Lance Klusener bouncer only to see the ball hit the back of his bat and fly to keeper Dave Richardson who could only parry it.

But thereafter his 12th test century looked almost inevitable on the increasingly batsman-friendly surface and he reached it from 223 balls, exactly the same number as Blewett.

By the close of a day which yielded 288 runs, Waugh had been at the crease for 400 minutes and struck 19 fours in an unbeaten 137. Blewett had batted eight minutes less and

collected 26 boundaries in his 156.

The stand is already the highest for any wicket by Australia against South Africa surpassing the 275 made by Colin McDonald and Lindsay Hassett in Adelaide in 1952-53.

The last time two batsmen completed a full day without losing their wickets was in 1989 when current Australian coach Geoff Marsh added 391 for the first wicket with current captain Mark Taylor against England at Trent Bridge.

Although South Africa are likely to have to bat for at least a day and a half to draw the match, they can take heart from the recent history of a Wanderers pitch which gets better and better the longer a game lasts.

The ground's last two tests have been drawn with England captain Michael Atherton batting ten hours for 185 not out to deny South Africa and Daryll Cullinan also making a fifth-day century to deny India just two months ago.

Villa downs Liverpool 1-0

Manchester United stays 4 points clear

LONDON (AP) - Ian Taylor's strike seven minutes from the end gave Aston Villa a 1-0 win over second place Liverpool Sunday and strengthened Manchester United's four-point lead atop the English Premier League.

Taylor's goal was the first Liverpool had conceded in the league this year and the first Villa had scored against them in five meetings.

The Liverpool defense was caught out by Andy Townsend's cross from the left and Taylor was left unmarked at the far post to control the ball and fire it past goalkeeper David James from 10 yards.

The goal made it a great result for defending champions Manchester United who downed Coventry 3-1 on Saturday to move four points clear.

United now have 57 points and Liverpool 53, both from 28 games. Third-placed Arsenal, which won 2-0 at Everton Saturday, has 51 from 29. Villa

remain fifth with 46 points, two strike behind Newcastle, which was upset 1-0 at home by Southampton Saturday.

Both Villa and Liverpool had chances to score before Taylor's 83rd minute strike.

England defender Gareth Southgate cleared off the line after Villa goalkeeper Mark Bosnich had raced out of his area and presented Robbie Fowler with a chance to shoot at an open net.

Bosnich made acrobatic saves from John Barnes and Steve McManaman and Liverpool keeper David James kept out a shot from Mark Draper.

Townsend also fired just wide from 30 yards and Taylor missed from close range after a good cross from Portuguese defender Fernando Nelsom.

Bolton moved 12 points clear atop the division one standings after edging West Brom 1-0 at Burnden Park. Nathan Blake scored with a spectacular 30-yard shot 11 minutes before half time.

Troubled Taiba turns to Turk

By ORI LEWIS

Hapoel Taiba, whose fate in the National League appears doomed even at this relatively early stage of the season, have enlisted Rifat Turk to try and dig them out of the hole they are in.

Former coach Zvi Rosen, who lasted just five matches in charge of Taiba and failed to lead them to any wins resigned after the 3-0 loss to Hapoel Beersheba on Saturday, leaving the club with just ten points to its credit after 20 rounds of play.

Turk is Taiba's third coach this season, he held his first training session yesterday. The former Hapoel Tel Aviv star and national team defender, takes over the team at its lowest ebb.

"With luck, will and a lot of determination, I believe we have a chance of avoiding relegation, but the players must begin to believe in themselves again," Turk said last night.

"Taiba has a very low resistance threshold, and that is something we will have to work on," he explained.

The Arab sector side, the first ever to compete at the highest level of Israeli soccer, seems to collapse after conceding a goal. This was no more evident than on Saturday, when Taiba played as equals with Beersheba before Dudu Heffer's 29th minute goal caused a complete collapse of the home side's defenses and it simply could not cope with the Negev side's onslaught.

In other news yesterday, Guy Levy, former coach of Hapoel Petah Tikva and Hapoel Beit She'an, has been named as manager of Zefirum Holon. The Holonis were looking to fill the manager's position and had considered ousted Hapoel Tel Aviv coach Moshe Sinai for the job, but he was not appointed because of a disagreement with the club.

Obziler wins women's satellite tournament

By HEATHER CHAIT

Zippi Obziler yesterday became the first Israeli to win an event on the current spring tennis satellite circuit.

Obziler won the final of the \$10,000 women's tournament in Jaffa, beating Nora Kovacs from Hungary 7-5, 6-4.

Kovacs beat wild card Limor Gabai 6-4, 6-0 in the semi-finals. In the third leg of the men's Club Hotel Eilat competition, also in

Jaffa, top seed Andrew Ilie from Austria won his second title on the circuit.

Ilie beat American Jim Thomas 6-2, 6-3 in the final. Ilie was the first leg in Beersheba two weeks ago.

The doubles honors went to Americans Vamill Patel and Brian Eagle who outlasted Lior Mor and Thomas 6-7(6/8), 6-3, 6-3. The Masters event, concluding the four-week satellite, will be held this week at the South Tel Aviv courts.

National hoopsters get tough draw in Euro finals

By BRIAN FREEMAN

The national basketball team was drawn in a difficult group for the 1997 European Championships as a result of the draw held in Barcelona over the weekend.

Israel, which secured a place in the Final 16 with a victory last week over Belarus in the last game of the preliminary round, was placed in Group B with France (10-0 in the preliminary rounds), Lithuania (bronze medalists in the 1996 Olympics), and Slovenia.

Israel plays once against these three teams and must finish in the top three to move on to the next stage.

The three clubs which advance carry their records with them and form a new pool with the top three teams from another group. After playing the three new teams once, the top four from each of the two remaining groups advance to the quarterfinals, at which point the tournament enters its knock-out phase.

The other three groups in the first stage of the championships, which begin on June 25, are A - Russia, Greece, Turkey and Bosnia; C - Yugoslavia, Italy, Latvia, and Poland; and D - Croatia, Spain, Germany and Ukraine.

Israel begins the competition with a game against Lithuania on June 25, followed by Slovenia on June 26 and France on June 27.

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Ivanisevic retains Milan title in record time

MILAN (Reuters) - The Serbian goalkeeper retained the Milan indoor tennis tournament title in record time on Saturday, Spain's Sergi Bruguera was the runner-up. An ATP spokesman said Ivanisevic, 27, finished and won the shortest in the history of the ATP tour. The victory was his first ever. Shorter, longer, faster, stronger. The Serbian's triumph was the first of his career. He had previously won the ATP tour's singles title in October last year with a 6-2, 6-3 victory over Andre Agassi. Whatever the length of the match, Ivanisevic's opponent, he said simply, "was Agassi." Ivanisevic, number one in the world, won the match in 42 minutes and 42 seconds. He collected the trophy presented by the club star Alberto Tomba.

Rockets beat Mavs despite Barkley injury

HOUSTON (Reuters) - Kevin Willis scored 26 points as the Houston Rockets overcame another injury to Charles Barkley for an 89-80 victory over the Dallas Mavericks Saturday. Hakeem Olajuwon had 16 points and 11 rebounds, Mario Elie scored 14 points and handed out a career-high 10 assists and Matt Maloney scored 13 points for Houston, which won for the fifth time in seven games. The 114 kg Barkley left the game in the first quarter after he suffered a lacerated left hip in a collision with Dallas centre Shawn Bradley, who is 2.29 meters and a body 112 kg. Barkley was treated in the locker room before being sent to the hospital. Team doctors announced that a magnetic resonance imaging test on Barkley's hip was negative. They expect him to be sidelined for a week to 10 days. Michael Finley scored 14 points, Robert Pack added 13 and A.C. Green contributed 12 for Dallas, which lost for the eighth time in 11 games. Saturday's Games - Washington 118, Golden State 106, Cleveland 99, Boston 81; Houston 89, Dallas 80, Sacramento 103, Milwaukee 92.

SCOREBOARD

BOXING - Sugar Ray Leonard could beat neither Hector "Macho" Camacho nor Mike Spivey, losing his comeback fight, when the 40-year-old was knocked out in the fifth round in Atlantic City.
CRICKET - New Zealand scored a narrow win over England in the fourth one-day cricket international at Eden Park yesterday to keep their five-match series alive.

Score: New Zealand 153 all-out in 43 overs, England 144 all out.
NHL - Sunday's results: New Jersey 6, Pittsburgh 3; Philadelphia 5, Boston 5; New Tampa Bay 2, Florida 0; Detroit 3, NY Rangers 0; Colorado 2, Chicago 1; Buffalo 3, Ottawa 1; Toronto 3, San Jose 2; Calgary 4, Dallas 1; Montreal 2, Edmonton 4; Los Angeles 3, Vancouver 4.

Joseph Hoffman and Ori Lewis, Sports Editors

